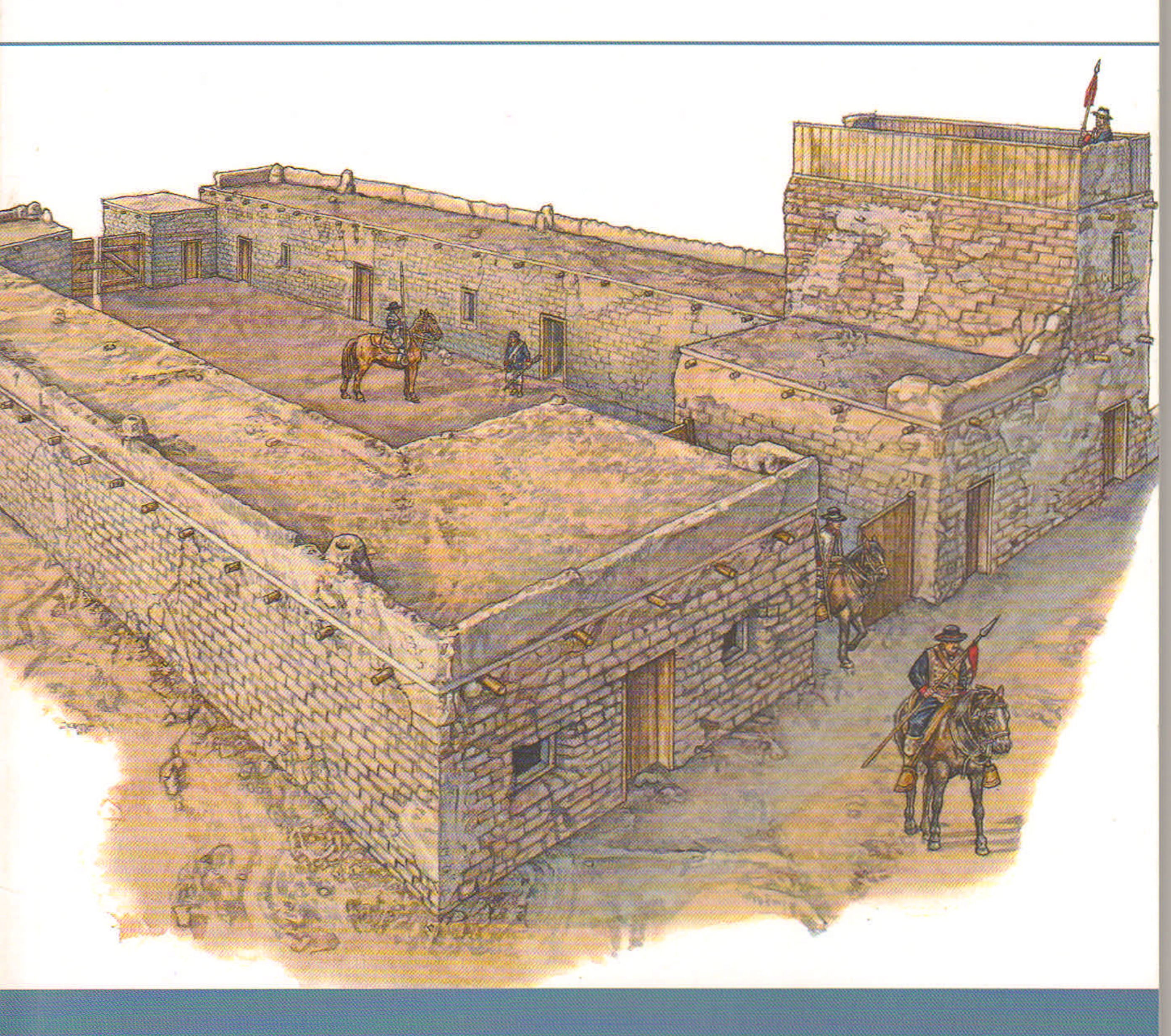
SPANISH COLONIAL FORTIFICATIONS

in North America 1565–1822



ALEJANDRO DE QUESADA ILLUSTRATED BY STEPHEN WALSH

ABOUT THE AUTHOR AND ILLUSTRATOR

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FORTRESS • 94

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CONTENTS

SPANISH COLONIAL FORTIFICATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA 1565–1822

INTRODUCTION

With the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon in 1513 and the conquest of Mexico by Hernan Cortes in 1526, Spain gained a foothold in the Americas that extended across North America to the northern tip of South America, with access to both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Gold, silver, precious stones, and raw materials discovered in this New World created new trade routes back to the Old World. In order to protect this wealth, the far-flung boundaries of these new possessions required a series of defenses and fortifications to be constructed.

In North America (defined by the modern countries of Mexico, the United States, and Canada), the Spanish authorities began developing fortifications to protect new settlements, inland trade roads, and seaports. Of interest is the adaptability of the Spanish in using local materials to construct their defenses: in Florida where coquina was used to build the Castillo de San Marcos; the Gulf regions where fired brick and stones were utilized; the Mississippi River regions of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri where wood and earth were used; and the arid regions of the Southwest and California where adobe was the main construction material. This diversity in the construction of defenses by the Spanish in North America is unique compared to those constructed in the Caribbean and in South America.

The territories occupied by Spain were so vast that they fell under two spheres of authority. Those comprised of the Florida, West Florida, and Louisiana territories were administered by a captain general in Havana, Cuba. The California and Southwest region comprising mostly of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada fell under the authority of the Viceroy of New Spain, headquartered in Mexico City. Troops serving in these territories came from the respective administrations of Havana and Mexico City.

The focus of this study is to look historically at the various styles of fortifications and defenses built during Spain's presence in North America, from 1565 with the founding of St Augustine to 1821 when Mexico gained independence from Spain. In addition, the work will examine the life of Spanish garrisons within the different environments encountered in North America.

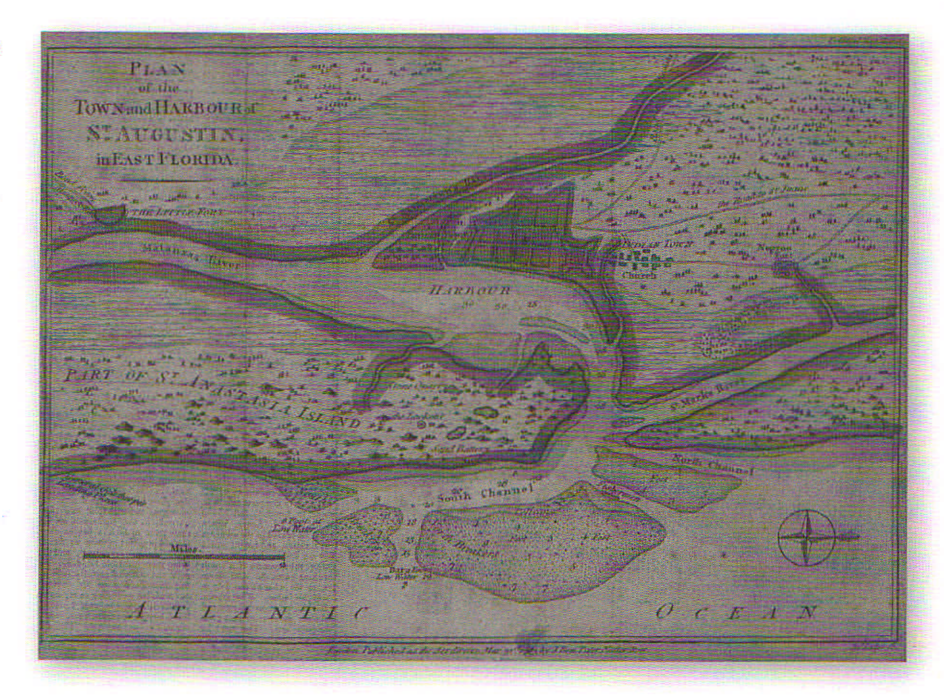
FLORIDA

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés founded the colony of St Augustine in 1565, in response to French encroachment into Spanish Florida. A series of wooden

European colonial claims in the Americas in the 18th century.



An English map of St Augustine, Florida, showing the defenses of the town and harbor as they appeared in 1783. Note how the Castillo de San Marcos is the prominent fortification of the Cubo Line. Of interest are the fortifications outside of the town such as the "Negroe Fort" (Fort Mose), the "Little Fort", and the "Sand Battery" on nearby Saint Anastasia Island. (Courtesy of AdeQHA)



fortifications were built, but were not sufficient in preventing attacks by foreign military forces and pirates. In June 1586, an English fleet with 2,000 men under the command of Sir Francis Drake landed, sacked, and burned the colony. In 1668 two Spanish supply ships sailed quietly into the harbor. The ships had actually been captured earlier by pirates under the command of John Davis, and were being used as a "Trojan Horse" of sorts. At night, the pirates landed and took the town by surprise. The fort withstood the attack, but the town was plundered and 60 Spaniards were killed. These events, followed by the English settlement of Charlestown in 1670, caused the Spanish Crown to consider building a superior defensive fortification in St Augustine.

Construction began on what was called Castillo de San Marcos in 1672 and work continued at intervals until 1695. The new fort was to replace the ninth of a series of wooden forts that had defended St Augustine since 1565. The stone used, a sedimentary rock called coquina, was quarried on nearby Anastasia Island. In 1683, pirates captured the small Spanish detachment stationed at a watchtower in Matanzas, but one soldier was able to escape and warn the garrison in the town of the attack. The pirates were ambushed by the Spaniards and forced back to their ship. Another pirate raid was repulsed in 1686 at Little Matanzas Inlet.

The Castillo de San Marcos' baptism of fire came when British forces under Governor James Moore of Carolina besieged the fort in 1702. The fort's guns kept the British at bay, and after a two-month siege a Spanish fleet appeared and Moore was forced to retreat overland after burning the town and his own ships. A second attack upon St Augustine by Colonel Palmer of Carolina was repulsed in 1728. In June 1740, General James Oglethorpe (the English governor of Georgia) led an expedition of 1,000 men against the settlement. A 27-day bombardment of St Augustine and the Castillo de San Marcos ensued. After some victorious raids on British-held positions by Spanish troops, and Spanish supply ships arriving from Havana, Oglethorpe was forced to end his siege after 38 days. In 1742, a stone tower was completed at Matanzas as well as two additional defensive lines to the north of the *castillo*.

In 1763, Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain in return for British-occupied Havana. The British strengthened the *castillo* and the town's defenses. During the American Revolution the *castillo* became a base for military operations against Georgia and South Carolina. Three signers of the Declaration of Independence were interned at the fort. Thomas Heyward, Jr., Arthur Middleton, and Edward Rutledge were all captured at the siege of Charleston in 1780. They were held at St Augustine (then under British control) until September 1781. With Galvez's victory in Pensacola and the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Florida was once again returned to Spain. Spain eventually ceded Florida to the United States in 1821 after years of small uprisings and rebellions, including "Florida's French Revolution."

With St Augustine now in American hands, the Castillo de San Marcos was renamed Fort Marion. Throughout the 19th century the fort served as a military prison during the Second Seminole War, the Spanish–American War, and the War Between the States (American Civil War), when it was briefly held by Confederate troops. In 1924, Fort Marion became a National Monument by presidential proclamation, and in 1942 the fort was renamed Castillo de San Marcos.

Following the British siege of 1702, the Spanish began construction of a system of peripheral fortifications to protect the town based on the principle of defense in depth. Between 1704 and 1821, the Spanish completed the outworks of the *castillo* and erected five earthen walls known as "lines of entrenchment." The Rosario Line and the eastern segment of the Cubo Line formed the city wall, also known as the line of circumvallation. In the 1730s the line was rebuilt in anticipation of another English attack from the north. During the British occupation of Florida (1763–84), military engineers repaired the Spanish fortifications and erected a chain of seven free-standing redoubts west and south of the town. The existing Spanish redoubts of the Cubo Line were renamed as the Santo Domingo Redoubt, also known as the Tolomato Redoubt.

A recreation of the Cubo Line, which was originally built in 1704 by the Spanish as a defensive system to protect the northern sector of St Augustine after the 1702 English siege, extending westward from the Castillo de San Marcos to the San Sebastian River. (Author)



A

City defenses of St Augustine and Castillo de San Marcos, Florida, 1805



The only fragment of the original city defenses that still stands intact to this day is the city gate complete with its sentry boxes. At one time a drawbridge provided the necessary security measures when the town came under attack. Nearby is the reconstructed Santo Domingo Redoubt in its 1808 configuration. (Author)

In order to strengthen St Augustine's defenses, the Santo Domingo Redoubt was again rebuilt in 1808. Four embrasures pierced the walls of the redoubt to accommodate ordnance pieces, typically 4-pdr, 6-pdr, and 8-pdr guns mounted on siege and field carriages. In the absence of field pieces, garrison guns from the *castillo* were moved to the redoubt. In 1834, on the eve of the Second Seminole War (1835–42), the US Army constructed a wooden redoubt on the site of the ruined Santo Domingo Redoubt. Today, reconstructions of the 1808 Santo Domingo Redoubt stand again on Cordova and Orange Streets, and along the Cubo Line extending from the Castillo de San Marcos. Only the city gate and the outline of the defenses along Cordova Street are original vestiges of the Cubo Line.

Outside of St Augustine a series of batteries and forts were built protecting the various water and land routes leading to the town. A fortification known as "Little Fort" protected the southern approach along the Mosquito and Matanzas Rivers. On Saint Anastasia Island the Spaniards built a fortified lighthouse that doubled as a watchtower and a sand battery. The other fortifications of importance that provided security for St Augustine were Forts Matanzas and Mose.

Fort Matanzas

The history of Fort Matanzas and Matanzas Inlet begins with the slaughter of Jean Ribault and his French Huguenot comrades by Pedro Menendez de



A CITY DEFENSES OF ST AUGUSTINE AND CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS, FLORIDA, 1805

The English had sacked St Augustine in 1702, when General James Moore launched an offensive from the Carolinas forcing the Spaniards to hide in the Castillo de San Marcos as troops looted and razed the city. The original Cubo Line was built by the Spaniards in 1704 and was rebuilt in the 1730s. In 1740, Georgia Governor James Oglethorpe led an Anglo-American assault on the Spaniards. About 1,000 troops, including Indians from the Carolinas, besieged the city but failed to conquer it. The Spaniards kept rebuilding and reconstructing constantly because the lines were made of sand and wood. The Cubo Line was built yet again in 1808. The line had three strongpoints: the Santo Domingo, the Medio Cubo, and the Cubo Redoubts. The Santo Domingo Redoubt would have been at the northwest corner of the walled-in part of St Augustine. The Rosario Line ran south from the redoubt, along what is now Cordova Street. Two other defensive lines guarded St Augustine from the north. The outermost was the Mose Line, running from Fort Mose to San Sebastian. The middle line was called the Hornwork.

The Castillo de San Marcos was a system of defenses within a fortification. In addition to the Cubo and Rosario Lines that provided a defensive link between the fort and the town, the *castillo* had a water-filled moat, glacis, covered way, bastions, and a ravelin. Pictured from within the *castillo*'s covered way is the drawbridge over the moat that connected the fort with the ravelin on the right. (Author)



Aviles in 1565. The area and waterway near the bloodied sands would bear the name Matanzas or "Slaughter" in memory of the events that occurred there. By 1569, a small wooden watchtower was built in order to protect the waterway that led to the back door of St Augustine. Serious attention was given to Matanzas Inlet during the siege of St Augustine in 1740.

English expansion into Spanish territory began with Gen. Oglethorpe's establishment of Savannah in 1733, marking the beginning of the colony of Georgia. In 1736, the English went further south along Georgia's coast and established Fort Frederica near the modern city of Brunswick. The Spanish denunciation of these encroachments fell upon deaf ears. Fearing further English expansion, the Spanish establishment began examining the fortifications and military strength of East Florida. Around November 1736, Captain Antonio De Arredondo y Perez, a top military engineer who was sent by the governor of Cuba to examine the condition of the Spanish defenses in East Florida, had stated in his report that on the very southern end of Anastasia Island, where



This is an interior view of the Castillo de San Marcos where there were barracks, guardrooms, a chapel, powder magazine, storage rooms, and wells. The ornate entrance facing the fort's *plaza de armas* is the chapel. (Author)

"the bar of Matanzas is situated, where there is a guard stationed but without any shelter whatsoever. This is abandoned to the insult of any class of enemies."

Arredondo returned to Florida with a fellow officer, Pedro Ruiz de Olano, in April of 1738. Olano was appointed the resident engineer in Florida and was ordered to build new defenses around St Augustine. The projects that would receive major priorities were the modernization of the Castillo de San Marcos, and the construction of a new fort in San Francisco de Pupo. Because of these major projects, the defenses of Matanzas Inlet were a low priority.

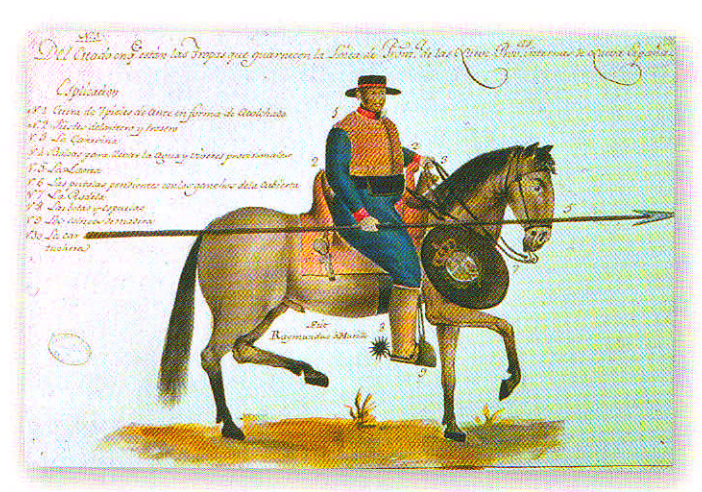
In an attempt to conquer Spanish-held Florida, Gen. Oglethorpe decided to lay siege to St Augustine on June 13, 1740. Oglethorpe disguised his reason for annexing Florida by using the War of Jenkins' Ear as an excuse for the siege of the old Spanish town. The inlet and waterway of Matanzas were blockaded by several armed English warships. Their purpose was to prevent any supplies or reinforcements from reaching the besieged city. Before the English blockade had been completed, the Spanish governor Manuel de Montiano had managed to send a courier to Cuba asking for provisions. The town had only enough supplies to feed its garrison and civilians for approximately three weeks.

In the early days of July, the blockading ships at Matanzas Inlet received orders to rejoin the other English warships at St Augustine Inlet. This move permitted the Spanish ships from Cuba to enter and thus bring much-needed supplies to the Spanish defenders at St Augustine. Haas writes: "Fearing the approach of the hurricane season, the British fleet decided to sail for safer waters. Lacking naval support and knowing that the city was now well supplied, Oglethorpe raised the siege on July 20, 1740." Serious consideration would now be given to fortifying the vulnerable approaches to St Augustine, including the inlet and waterway of Matanzas.

Fearing another British invasion into Florida, Governor Montiano ordered the erection of a permanent fort on Matanzas Inlet without royal approval from Spain. Construction of the fort is believed to have begun in the fall or early winter of 1740, under the supervision of Engineer Pedro Ruiz de Olano. The English were informed of its construction by their Indian allies, and made several unsuccessful attempts to destroy the strategic Spanish fort. The new fort was located upon a small marshy island that was surrounded by the waters of the Matanzas River.



Fort Matanzas was built of coquina by the Spanish between 1740 and 1742 to protect the southern approach to St Augustine. Its main strengths were its strategic location and its armament supply. In 1750, five cannons were mounted to cover all approaching directions. At the rear of the gun deck there was a water cistern that was capable of holding 1,500 gallons of water. (Author)

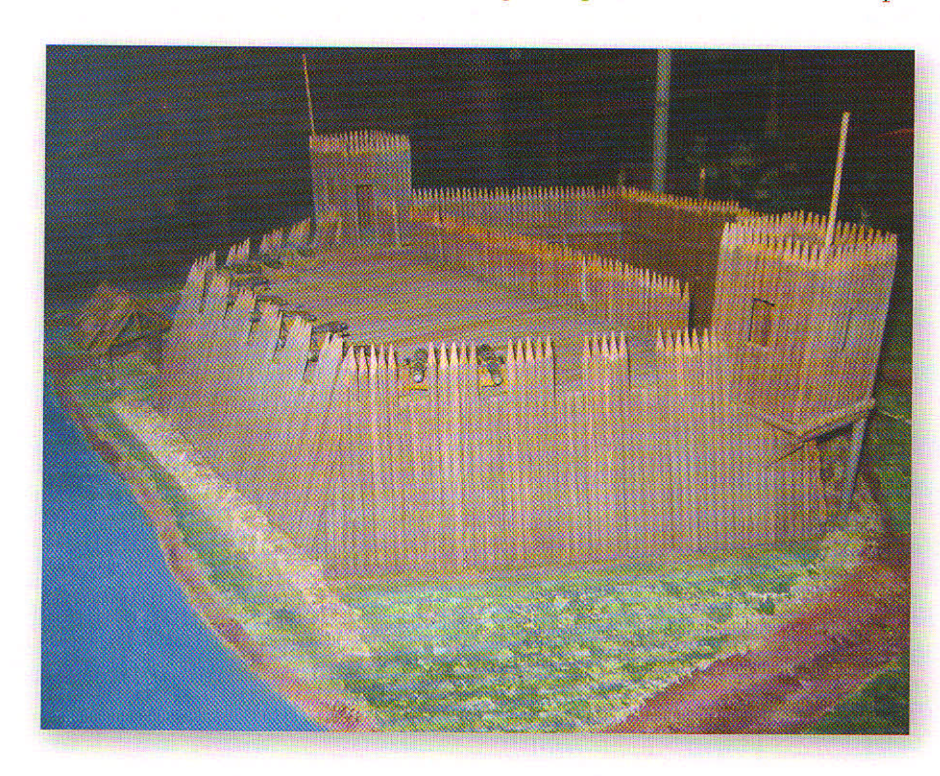


An 1803 illustration drawn by Ramón de Murillo of a "soldado de cuera", named after his leather armor. The *cuera* was a heavy, knee-length, and sleeveless coat. It consisted of several layers of well-cured buckskin, which were bound together at the edges with a strong seam and secured to the body by encircling straps. The artist was proposing with this illustration to cut the leather coat down to jacket size. For protection, and in addition to the leather jacket, the presidial soldier carries a shield. (Courtesy of Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain – Uniformes 71)

According to the Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team, building the fort was difficult, in that "long piles had to be driven deep into the mud to support the rising stonework." The fort's features were to include a gun deck that rose about 11ft above the ground, and a southeastern front that "had a low parapet, without embrasures or merlons. The low parapet furnished little or no protection to either the gun or the crew, but this was compensated by simpler construction, easier service of the piece, and wider field of fire. The east parapet was a breast-high wall with two embrasures."

The fort's major feature was its tower, which was similar to a Martello tower in design. The tower section of the fort was to contain a cistern, a magazine, and quarters for the commanding officer and his men. The capacity of the fort was for 50 men and six cannons. However, only four 6-pdr and one 18-pdr cannons were ever stationed at the fort at one time. Fort Matanzas was finally completed around 1742 and was soon to have its first experience of battle.

A second British attack on St Augustine was attempted in September 1742. After being repulsed by the Spanish warships and batteries around St Augustine Inlet, the British then tried to enter St Augustine's back door, Matanzas Inlet. The British believed that the fort was still under construction and that the construction crew at the site would put up no resistance. On September 10, 1742, two English ships sailed into the inlet to take soundings of the area. It was believed that Gen. Oglethorpe was on one of these ships.



Between 1565 and 1672 there were a series of wooden forts built in St Augustine, Florida. This model depicts one of the early forts built since the founding of the city by Pedro Menendez. (Courtesy of Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth Archaeological Park/Photo by the Author)

The Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team write that after "Reaching a point 3½ fathoms deep, within range of the 'unfinished fort,' the boats suddenly found themselves warned by a cannon shot fired from the now-completed Fort Matanzas. One of the boats turned back immediately and the other did the same a very short time later." The British force was forced to return to its bases in Georgia.

During the first few decades, Fort Matanzas never held its specified number of 50 men at any one time. Usually, the detachment stationed at the fort consisted of an officer, four infantry privates, and two gunners. At times, during war, the small fort's garrison would increase to ten men. If the fort was seriously threatened then additional men would be sent from St Augustine. With Spain's declaration of war against England in 1762, the garrison at Fort Matanzas was ten men, which was not sufficient for effective use of all five cannons at the small outpost.

Spain's war with England resulted in the loss of the Spanish colony of Cuba. In return for Cuba, Spain promised to cede Florida to the British. A treaty was signed in Paris on February 10, 1763, and with that Florida became British. In an inspection report of Fort Matanzas, one British officer noted that "Matanzas is a tower, where the Spaniards had five guns which they have taken away, the garrison sends ten men hither, it serves to guard the lower bar at the south of the Island." To prevent an Indian attack upon the small defenseless fort, a British officer recommended that two 6-pdr cannons be installed. However, the ship carrying these much-needed cannons was sunk before it could arrive at St Augustine. It wasn't until June 1764 that the fort was finally armed with the two guns.

The garrison at Fort Matanzas fluctuated at times during the period of English occupation. In 1764, the small fort was garrisoned by a sergeant and eight privates. At other times the fort was garrisoned by a corporal and four or five privates. Of course, during times of war the small outpost's garrison would be increased, as was the case during the American Revolution. Detachments from the British 9th Regiment of Foot were stationed at Fort Matanzas during most of the period of occupation.

The outbreak of the American Revolution had brought St Augustine and Florida new importance, as the new English territory now became a haven for British loyalists fleeing persecution. The entire territory of Florida became an armed camp, in which old defenses were rebuilt and new ones were built. The fort at Matanzas was found to be in good repair and no new modifications were added to the fort. American rebels made several attempts to seize East Florida from Georgia, but were repulsed by the British garrison in St Augustine. Plans for another rebel invasion of Florida were destroyed when the British captured the rebel-held seaport town of Savannah, Georgia, during November 1778. The capture ended any rebel influence in southern Georgia and East Florida for the remainder of the Revolution.

British officials in Florida feared the entry of Spain, on behalf of the American rebels, into the American Revolutionary War. With Spain's declaration of war on June 21, 1779, forts in the Florida territory were prepared for any surprise attacks. By the fall of 1780, Fort Matanzas' garrison had risen to 11 men, consisting of a sergeant, a gunner, and nine infantrymen. After the fall of British-held Pensacola and West Florida to Bernando de Galvez's Spanish forces in May 1781, British officials in St Augustine feared a Spanish invasion of East Florida. Further plans were made to upgrade the outpost at Matanzas Inlet.



These living historians pictured in front of the Royal Governor's House in St Augustine, Florida, are depicting Spanish artillerymen who formed the garrison of the Castillo de San Marcos during the 1740s. (Author)

The British commander at St Augustine, Brigadier General Archibald McArthur, ordered the reinforcement of the entrance to Fort Matanzas. According to the Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team, the general "established the fort as headquarters for an officers' party and provided the fort with two 18-pdr guns. He then upgraded the garrison at Matanzas by stationing a captain and 30 men at the fort. Also, a large and a small galley were to be stationed in the harbor to support the troops." It has been thought that during this period the southeastern parapet walls were strengthened with wood and earth construction and that the other embrasures of the fort were covered.

The American victory in Yorktown, Virginia had ended any British hopes of retaining the North American colonies. As well as a peace treaty with the new United States of America, another British treaty was signed with Spain on September 3, 1783. The Anglo-Hispanic treaty gave Spain the remaining eastern part of Florida. The Spanish took possession of East Florida when the new Spanish governor, Vicente Manuel de Cesepedes, and his troops marched through the gates of St Augustine on July 12, 1784. On that date, the former British governor, Patrick Tonyn, and General McArthur surrendered St Augustine and all fortifications to the new Spanish governor. During the first few years of the second Spanish rule in Florida, major concerns included the upgrading of defenses and of governmental buildings in St Augustine. Therefore, maintenance of Fort Matanzas remained ignored for close to five years after the resumption of Spanish rule.

An inspection tour of Fort Matanzas was conducted in 1789 by the head engineer, Mariano de la Rocque, from Castillo de San Marcos. The Spanish engineer described the small outpost in the following manner:

> Opposite the mouth [of the inlet] about a distance of a short cannon shot, there is an islet where the castle is built, and it continues toward the interior [i.e., the back country] with a short half mile of marsh and mangrove. Walls of the said castle are of masonry, and there are inside quarters for the troops. Its sides are about twenty yards, and the parapet is made of wood filled with earth, with three embrasures opposite the bar, and three more on the north and south sides; consequently [there is] a capacity of nine guns... This place in peace time does not need another thing than maintaining the said castle in the state that now obtains.

The wooden earth-filled parapet mentioned by de la Rocque was probably the one built by the English a few years before. The two 6-pdr guns that were at the fort in 1783 were removed by the British when they evacuated East Florida.



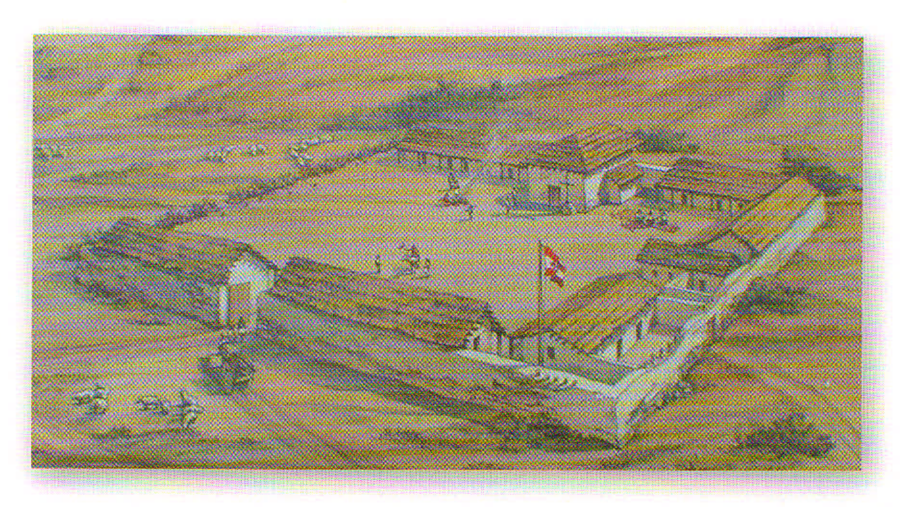
The San Francisco Presidio (originally, El Presidio Real de San Francisco or Royal Presidio of San Francisco) has been a fortified location since 1776, when the Spanish made it the military center of their expansion in the area. In 1783, the presidio's garrison numbered only 33 men. The presidio was seized by the US Military in 1846, officially opened in 1848, and became home to several Army headquarters and units until 1994 when the site was transferred to the National Park Service. (Author)

Under the supervision of Commanding Engineer Mariano de la Rocque, repairs and maintenance for Fort Matanzas began sometime around 1789. By 1793, Spain had improved the gun deck at Fort Matanzas and two 8-pdr cannons were mounted on a barbette. The following year, the roof and cistern were repaired and cleaned for healthier use by the fort's small garrison. No records have been found on any further repairs or modifications to Fort Matanzas from 1784 to 1795. During the remaining few years of Spanish rule, the Spanish engineers had major problems in fixing the erosion of the foundation of the fort. Cracks were forming throughout the fort's walls and water leakage in the magazine was reported in 1799. The fort's new role, next to protecting the waterway, was to guard against the stealing of coquina stones and oyster shells from a nearby government-owned quarry.

In 1809, extensive work was done on the fort after the second-story floor collapsed, damaging the chimney. However, the fort began to decay due to inconsistent repairs and maintenance. The Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team write that by 1818, "the fort commander complained that the structure was in dire need of repairs, at a time when the resident engineer's position had been filled, after a five year and five month lapse, by Captain Francisco Cortazar. Cortazar inspected Fort Matanzas. He found that river erosion had exposed and destroyed part of the footing and undermined the scarp wall." The fort's quarters were hardly a place to stay dry during rainy weather, owing to cracks that had formed in the roof.

Due to the deteriorated condition of the fort, the fort's small garrison was forced to live in tents until repairs were made. When lightning struck the fort's roof around September of 1820, the structure became totally uninhabitable and useless for its purpose. Despite the conditions existing at the outpost, it was not abandoned, and the soldiers continued to live there in tents or other temporary structures. The few guns were still maintained by the greatly reduced garrison and minimal care was given to the still-strategic outpost. Before the transfer of Florida to the United States, the fort's muster had listed only the following three soldiers: Sergeant Second Class Lorenzo Brito of the Colored Militia Company of Havana; Sergeant Second Class

A recreation showing how the San Francisco Presidio appeared during the 18th century. (Courtesy of the National Park Service/Photo by the Author)



Manuel Ruiz of 6th Company, 2nd Battalion, Infantry Regiment of Cuba; and Gunner Francisco de Herrera of the Corps of National Artillery.

On July 10, 1821, both East and West Florida were ceded by Spain to the United States. Ownership and maintenance of all former Spanish defenses, including Fort Matanzas, was acquired by the War Department. The outpost's strategic importance was lost when Florida became part of the United States, and there was no need to protect it from enemies who no longer had nearby bases to wage their attacks from. It wasn't until 1915 and 1916 that Congress allotted money for the preservation of Fort Matanzas and designated the fort a National Landmark. The fort's status was upgraded to National Monument in 1924. On July 10, 1933, the War Department ceded Fort Matanzas to the Department of the Interior and the site to be maintained by the National Park Service. After the acquisition of the fort, careful historical research on the fort's structure was carried out for ongoing renovation. Today, the park contains a visitor's center and ferry service to Fort Matanzas.

Fort Mose

The fort and the community of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, located 2 miles (3.2km) north of St Augustine, was established in 1738 by escaped slaves from the English colony of Carolina, who were granted their freedom in Spanish St Augustine. The men were made members of the Spanish militia and the fort served as Florida's first line of defense against the English to the north. The garrison was led by Francisco Menendez, captain of the Fort Mose black militia, and arrived in St Augustine from Carolina around 1724. The majority of the members of the black militia had been born free in West Africa, but were captured and transported across the Atlantic Ocean. Enslaved in America, they risked their lives to escape captivity by traveling a rough and dangerous path through frontier Georgia.

Fort Mose had log walls reinforced with an earthen berm. It enclosed thatched huts and was ringed with a ditch containing "prickly palmetto royal" or "Spanish Bayonets." Surrounding it were farm fields, homes for the freedmen, and salt marsh. In May 1740, during the siege



The presidio commander's quarters is the only remnant of the Royal Presidio of San Francisco. In later years the building was turned into an officers' club and currently serves as a welcome center for the National Park Service. The front entrance has a pair of Spanish cannons, one of which (called the San Pedro) is an 8-pdr cannon cast in Lima, Peru, in 1673. It was brought to the Castillo de San Joaquin to guard the entrance to San Francisco Bay in the 18th century. (Author)

of St Augustine by Gen. Oglethorpe, the garrison was forced to abandon Fort Mose in order to reinforce St Augustine's garrison. Troops under the command of Captain Hugh Mackay and Colonel John Palmer occupied the fort in June. On June 26, 1740, a British soldier recounted the following events that took place at "Bloody Mose:"

> At one in the morning some of the Rangers reported that they had heard the Spanish Indians dancing the War Dance. At Four o'Clock the Colonel went to rouse them, to stand to their Arms. But as usual, most of them lay down again. This put him into great Passion, saying that the Spaniards would surely attack them after the Indian Manner and that General Ogelethorpe had sent them there for a sacrifice. Then a Centinel called that a Party was coming and Colonel Palmer called aloud, "Stand to your arms! Not a Man of you fire, but receive their first fire; then half of you fire and fall back, making Room for the rest to come up, and we will kill them like Dogs."
>
> Then poured in a large Volley, and the Colonel betook himself to the ditch, The Rangers did the same. [The Indians' leader] run into the Fort, and got all the Indians together into one Flanker, there being a great Hurry and Confusion, some being dressed and some undressed. The Enemy attacking in different Parties, rushed on... Colonel Palmer in the Trench, kept firing and encouraging the Men aloud, and the Spaniards were repulsed twice. At length they came on again Sword in Hand and entered the Gate. At the same Time another Party entered one of the breaches, so that the Fort was at once full of Spaniards, it being then about Half an Hour before Day. Firing as they marched and opening a Passage for themselves through the Enemy, [35 British] made their escape. The Spaniards, as it pleased God, did nor pursue their Victory; but marched back to their Castle in great Triumph, shouting and firing in Sight of the Camps with the Prisoners and Colours that they had taken in the Fort.

Interior of the former commander's quarters of el Presidio Real de San Francisco showing the adobe bricks used in the construction. (Author)



Don Manuel de Montiano, governor of Spanish Florida, wrote:

> At 11 o'clock on the night of Saturday, 25 June, I sent out from this garrison three hundred men to make an attack on the Fort of Mose, which was executed at day-break on Sunday morning. Our people swept over it, with such impetuosity that it fell with a loss of sixty-eight dead and thirty-four prisoners. An Indian prisoner affirms positively that he saw Colonel Palmer dead and his head cut off... The affair being terminated, I ordered the fort to be demolished, and the dead buried.

Eventually, Oglethorpe's siege failed and the British retreated back to Georgia. In 1742, Montiano invaded Georgia in retaliation but was defeated at the battle of Bloody Marsh near Fort Frederica on St Simons Island.

Only a few hundred feet from the first site of the ruined defenses, Fort Mose and its surrounding community were rebuilt in 1752. When Spain ceded Florida to the British in 1763, the second site of Fort Mose had been described as a sizeable village of thatched huts with a chapel, and the fort with a lookout tower and two cannon-mounted bastions, surrounded by a moat. The British dismantled Fort Mose in 1775. Today, both sites that made up the fort are preserved within the Fort Mose Historic State Park by the Florida Park Service.

Fort Caroline/Fort San Mateo

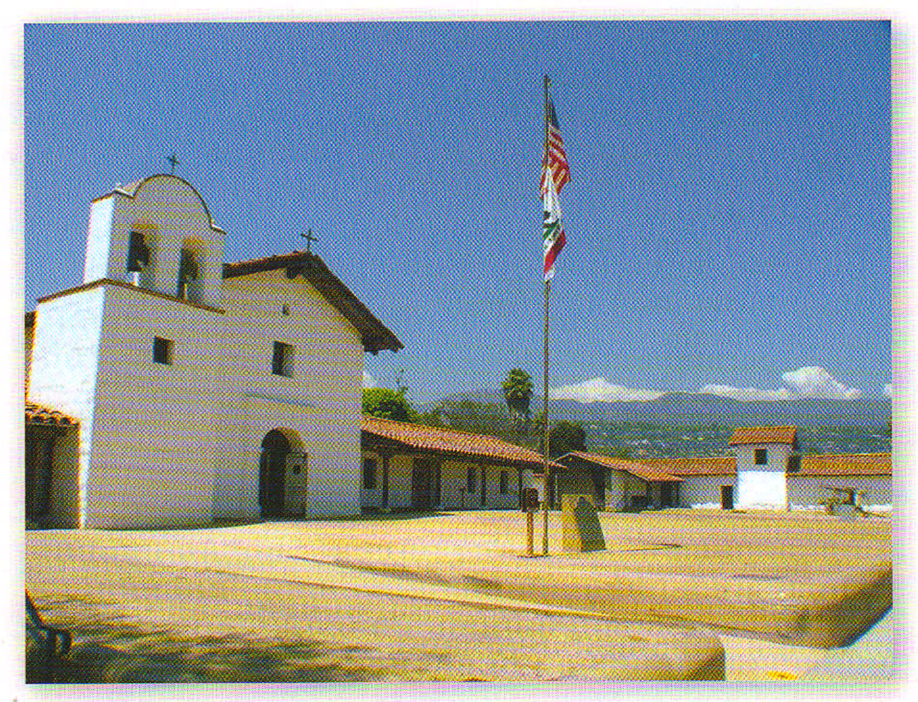
Despite the fact that Florida had been discovered by Spain, and was claimed by Ponce de Leon in 1513, it was the French who would found the first settlement in what is now Jacksonville, in 1564. These Huguenot Frenchmen would be hailed by some as the first Protestant settlers in the New World. To Spain, these French "heretics" would merely be seen as trespassers in Spanish territory and as a threat to Spanish shipping in the Atlantic. The intrusion would force Spain's hand in determining what to do with the French and the status of the territory of Florida.

The French built a triangular fort at Jacksonville, in the European manner, and named it Fort Caroline. The two corners that faced the river formed a 9ft (2.7m) battlement consisting of earth supported by logs. The fort's apex faced south and a moat was constructed, in which the waters from the St Johns River would surround all sides of the fort. On the western side of the fort were located the gate and bridge. Over the gate stood the French coat of arms and the family crest of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the colony's financial backer. Within the fort, buildings were constructed to store weapons and ammunition, as well as a few for habitation. It appears that the interior soon became overcrowded, and that a few of the colonists built shacks for themselves outside the confines of the fort.

After the Spanish attack and conquest of the fort in 1565, the French coat of arms was replaced with Spain's, and the fort's name was changed to Fort San Mateo. The fort continued to be used as an outpost and as a mission. However, the Spanish garrison was continually harassed by Timucuan Indians, who were friendly to the French colonists. By May 1566, both forts in St Augustine and Fort San Mateo were reinforced by an armada of 14 ships and 1,500 men. These were sent by the Spanish king in order to prevent a French invasion of Florida. Close to three years after the massacre at Fort Caroline and on Matanzas Inlet, the French would have their day of revenge.

Around Easter, 1568, a French expedition under the command of Dominique de Gourgues arrived at the mouth of the St Johns River. Their goal was to avenge the slaughter of their countrymen. The French attacked Fort San Mateo and massacred most of the 400 men of the Spanish garrison. The French, together with the aid of some of their Timucuan Indian allies, killed or hanged every Spaniard that fell into their hands. When Menendez had tacked up a sign over the bodies of the hanged Huguenots at the fort, it read that the action was not done "unto Frenchmen but unto heretics." In response, the French tacked a sign over the hanged bodies of the Spaniards, stating that the French act was not done unto "Spaniards, but as to robbers and murderers." The violent sequence of events had come full circle.

Despite the tragic events that had taken place at the fort, San Mateo continued to survive and serve its function as a fortified outpost. In 1586, when the well-known English pirate Sir Francis Drake pillaged and burned



Founded on April 21, 1782, the Santa Barbara Royal Presidio was the last in a chain of four military fortresses built by the Spanish along the coast of Alta California, then a wilderness frontier. Today, only two sections of the original presidio quadrangle remain, and both are within the State Park: El Cuartel, the family residence of the soldier assigned to guard the western gate into the *plaza de armas*, and the Canedo Adobe, named after the presidio soldier to whom it was deeded when the presidio became inactive. (Author)

St Augustine, most of the Spanish inhabitants there found refuge in Fort San Mateo. Within a century, the fort would gradually fade away into the pages of history. However, the fort's site on St Johns Bluff would continue to serve its strategic importance. General Oglethorpe had encamped nearby during his ill-fated campaign to take St Augustine in 1740. During the War Between the States, Confederate forces had constructed a series of earthen fortifications upon the bluff. These earthworks protected the river from intrusions by Union gunboats. A Confederate battery can still be seen today adjacent to the reconstructed Ribault monument. Another fortification was built upon the bluff during the Spanish–American War.

The original site of Fort Caroline was washed away after the deepening of the river in the 1880s. During the 1950s, the area was set aside for the National Park Service to establish a historic settlement to commemorate the landing of Ribault and Laudonnière. However, a National Park Service report on the reconstructed French fort stated that "reconstruction was based on the best information available at the time. Modifications were made because of the location. Specific inadequacies known are: reproduction is on smaller scale; bricks are used in wall construction; concrete is used to stabilize entrance path; supports for palisades are historically incorrect; entrance was relocated to provide easier access; landscaping; relocation of flagpole; and angle of fort were changed to accommodate the present shoreline." The report further stated that the replica of the French fort was situated about 200–300m from the original fort site. The purpose of the park is to educate visitors on the first European conflict in the New World and on life during the 16th century.

Fort San Carlos

The land above the Amelia River was a campsite for Indians in prehistoric times, as early as 2,000–1,000 BC. In the early history of colonial America, it assumed military importance because of the protected harbor on the northern

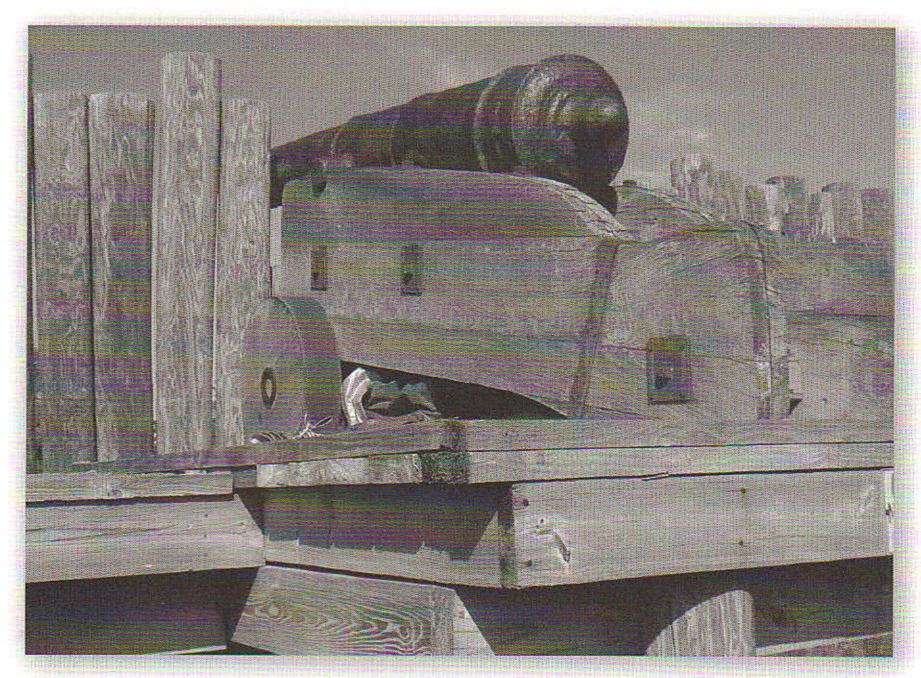


The reconstructed northwest bastion of Fort San Carlos de Austria, within a stone's throw of Fort Barrancas at Naval Air Station Pensacola. (Author)

boundary of Spanish Florida. In the first Spanish period, a village of Franciscans and Indians was established by 1675, and a Spanish sentinel's house was documented in 1696. From 1736 to 1742, Gen. Oglethorpe stationed Highlanders on this site. After the withdrawal of Oglethorpe's troops in 1742, the area served as a buffer zone between the English and the Spanish until 1763 when Florida became a British possession. When Spain regained possession of Florida in 1783, the harbor became an embarkation point for British loyalists leaving Florida. The US Embargo Act of 1807, which closed all US ports to European trade, made the border town of Fernandina a center for smuggling. The town of Fernandina was situated on a peninsula, defended by a strong picket and two blockhouses that enclosed the whole town. On March 17, 1812, a group of Americans known as the Patriots overthrew the Spanish Battery, but the US flag replaced the Patriots' standard after just one day. Spain regained control in May 1813 and completed Fort San Carlos in 1816, which protected the harbor side of Fernandina.

The fort was made of wood and earthworks and was armed with eight or ten guns. As the fort's parade ground, the site was named Plaza San Carlos. As the Spanish empire disintegrated, Fort San Carlos became increasingly vulnerable to foreign intervention. Commissioned by representatives of revolting South American countries to liberate Florida from Spanish control, Sir Gregor MacGregor seized the fort in June 1817. After his withdrawal in September, the Spanish attempt to reassert their authority was repelled by forces led by MacGregor's lieutenants, Jared Irwin and Ruggle Hubbard.

The battle of Amelia occurred on September 13, when Spaniards erected a battery of four brass cannons on McClure's Hill. With about 300 men, supported by two gunboats, they began shelling Fernandina, which was held by Jared Irwin, adventurer and former Pennsylvanian Congressman. His "Republic of Florida" forces consisted of 94 men, the privateers *Morgiana* and *St Joseph*, and the armed schooner *Jupiter*. Spanish gunboats commenced firing at 3.30pm, and the battery on the hill joined the cannonade. Amelia Island was defended by the guns of Fort San Carlos, on the river bluff northwest of the hill, and by



One of three 9-pdr Spanish demi-culverin cannons recovered during the on-site 1997 excavations by the Division of Archaeology of the University of West Florida. After cleaning, the cannons were placed on public display to commemorate Pensacola's Tricentennial in November 1998. Two of the cannons were mounted on the walls of the reconstructed northwest bastion at the site of Fort San Carlos de Austria and one is on exhibit at the Archaeology Institute. (Author)

those of the *St Joseph*. Cannon balls killed two and wounded other Spanish troops concentrated below the hill. Firing continued until dark. The Spanish commander, convinced he could not capture the island, withdrew his forces.

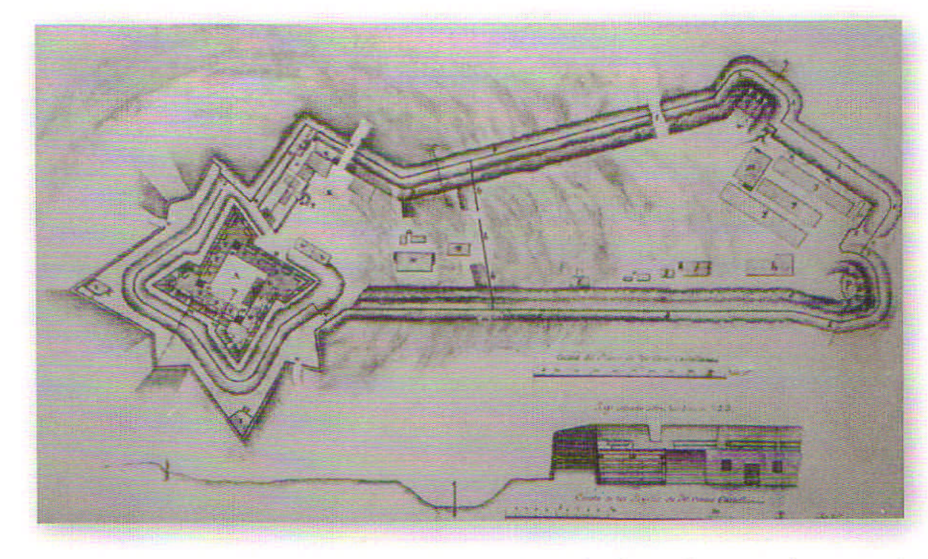
Somewhat later, the pirate Louis-Michel Aury gained control of the fort. Because Aury's activities threatened negotiations concerning the cession of Florida, US troops occupied Fort San Carlos in December 1817. Although upset by US interference at Fort San Carlos, Spain ceded Florida in 1821, and the United States abandoned the fort shortly after the transfer. Archaeologists estimate that two-thirds of the fort has disappeared due to erosion. Traces of earthworks and the former parade ground can be found along present-day Estrada Street.

WEST FLORIDA AND PENSACOLA DEFENSES

In 1698, the settlement of Pensacola was established by Andrés de Arriola, near the present-day Naval Air Station. It was part of a series of local forts. Fort San Carlos de Austria was a four-bastioned fort built of wood and earthworks; a baking oven was the only masonry structure. In 1719, a small fortification was built nearby at Point Siguenza, the site of modern-day Fort Pickens. Flags over Pensacola would change several times, and the French captured Pensacola that same year. French troops burned the town and fort when they departed in 1722. It was restored to Spain by treaty after the War of Quadruple Alliance, and Don Alejandro Mauchope was entrusted to reclaim Pensacola and act as governor. In 1750, a small fortification, San Miguel, was built near present-day Seville Square (downtown Pensacola) to protect local friendly Indians.

During the Seven Years' War (1756–63), France and Spain battled the British. The British captured Cuba, and at the end of the war Spain ceded Spanish Florida to the British to regain Cuba. The British arrived to occupy Pensacola in August 1763. They found the town and military stockade in poor condition. In 1765, engineers completed a new plan for Pensacola,

RIGHT
A Spanish plan of Fort San Miguel, previously known as Fort George, which was rebuilt and garrisoned by Spanish troops after the siege of Pensacola in 1781. A reconstructed fragment of the fort exists today in a park on Palafox Street. (Florida State Archives/Photo by the Author)



BELOW
The Louisiana Regiment garrisoned most of the outposts in Florida and the Louisiana Territory (Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri). The regiment was founded in 1767 and participated in numerous battles against the British during the American Revolution, including the siege of Pensacola. (Author)



which included enlarging the deteriorated stockade at the waterfront, and the development of city streets and residential lots. By 1781 the city had over 250 new dwellings.

To better defend the city, three new fortifications were built north of the waterfront stockade. Fort George was the first built by British forces, under the command of General John Campbell in 1772. It became one of the major defenses of Pensacola, which was now the capital of British West Florida. Several hundred yards north, on higher ground, the Queen's Redoubt and the Prince of Wales Redoubt were part of the system. Fort George consisted of a square parade ground and an earthen rampart with four demi-bastions, surrounded by a dry moat. The fort wall mounted 20 cannons. An outer earthwork stretched southwest for approximately 600ft.

King Carlos III of Spain appointed 32-year-old Bernardo de Gálvez governor general of Louisiana on January 1, 1777. He had proven his skills as a soldier and military leader during campaigns in Portugal and New Spain. In 1779, Galvez captured British outposts on the Mississippi, then at Mobile in 1780. In February 1781, Field Marshal Galvez led a convoy of 32 ships and 3,000 men to seize British West Florida. The battle of Pensacola would go on to be considered the greatest victory of his career.

Spanish forces included some of the country's most elite regiments, not least of which were the Hibernian Infantry. Joining the Spanish force were grenadiers, dragoons, and rangers of the Louisiana Regiment; a company of well-trained Irish soldiers; American volunteers; and

some 800 French Rangers. Soldiers from Louisiana included free mulatto and black troops. Slaves served both the Spanish and British military. British forces included the elite British 60th (Royal American) Regiment and the 16th Regiment of Foot, Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, and the 3rd Waldeck Regiment of German mercenaries.

Entering Pensacola Bay, the Spanish prepared trenches and batteries from which to attack the British forces. The British requested that the town not be attacked, and that women and children and the sick be allowed sanctuary in the waterfront stockade. The battle centered on Fort George. In spite of being outnumbered three to one, the British held their position for two months. With reinforcements, Galvez commanded over 7,000 troops. Fort George was besieged for two weeks, from April 24 to May 8, 1781. A Spanish howitzer shell penetrated the magazine of the Queen's Redoubt and exploded, killing and maiming much of the British garrison on the morning of May 8, 1781. The defenders raised the white flag at 3.00pm and the following day the Spanish took 1,113 prisoners, after a formal surrender. The magazine blast had killed 105 of the British defenders.

The Spaniards began reconstruction of Fort George in 1783 and renamed it Fort San Miguel. The Queen's Redoubt was also renamed, becoming Fort Bernando, and the Prince of Wales Redoubt became Fort Sombrero. Only San Bernando was occupied. Consideration was given to abandoning the city in favor of an earlier site near the entrance to the bay. New fortifications were built at the harbor entrance. It was hoped that Pensacola's meager defenses could withstand a siege by Indian or European armies long enough for assistance to arrive from Havana.

Although Pensacola officially belonged to Spain after 1783, the British often used West Florida to harass the United States. In 1814, General Andrew Jackson invaded Florida in order to attack British forces. By the time of General Andrew Jackson's entrance into Pensacola, the earthen fortifications were in complete disrepair after bombardment by the Americans. In 1818, Jackson again entered Pensacola, this time to stop Florida Indians from raiding the United States. In 1818, Jackson ordered that the Spanish garrison be shipped to Havana, and US troops commanded by Colonel William King occupied the city and its forts for ten months. Jackson entered the city a third time in July 1821 to formally take possession of Florida from the last Spanish governor.

During the United States' bicentennial, a number of archaeologists made a nine-month investigation of the site and their excavations revealed significant remains of both the British and Spanish forts. Several elements of the forts were located, including a section of the moat, a powder magazine,



Living historians in the uniform of the Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña (Free Company of Volunteers of Catalonia) in the Tucson Presidio. This regiment, raised in 1767, saw extensive service in the New World (Mexico, Arizona, California, and Canada). (Author)

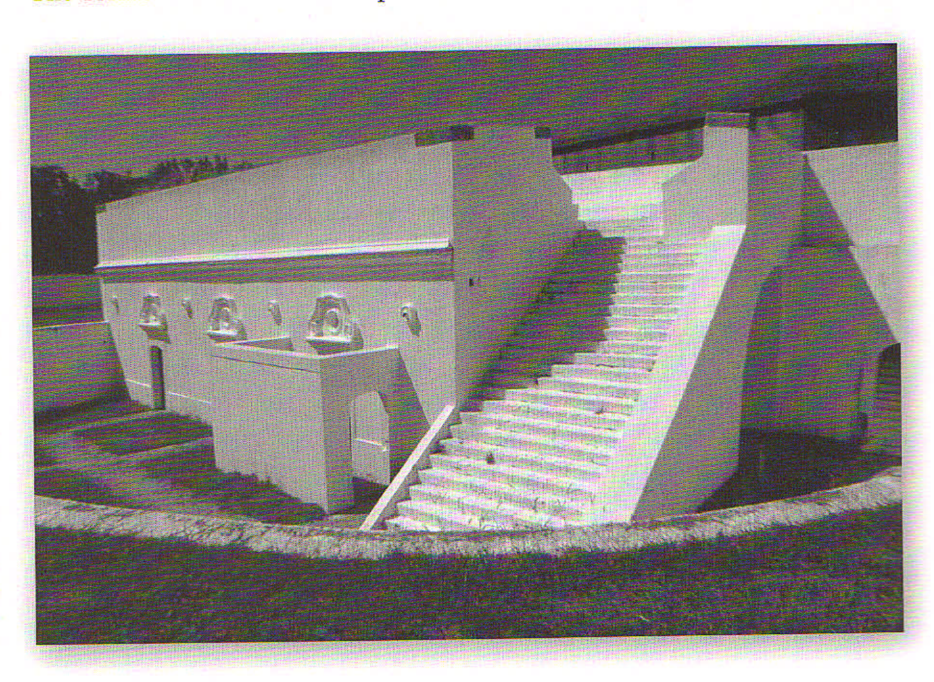
and a group of vaulted rooms believed to be latrines. Since the site did not include living and dining areas, few artifacts were recovered. Much of the useable equipment was removed from the structure when it was abandoned. The findings helped in recreating a portion of the defensive positions of Fort George and an area now preserved as a park on the corner of Palafox and Jackson Streets.

Fort Barrancas

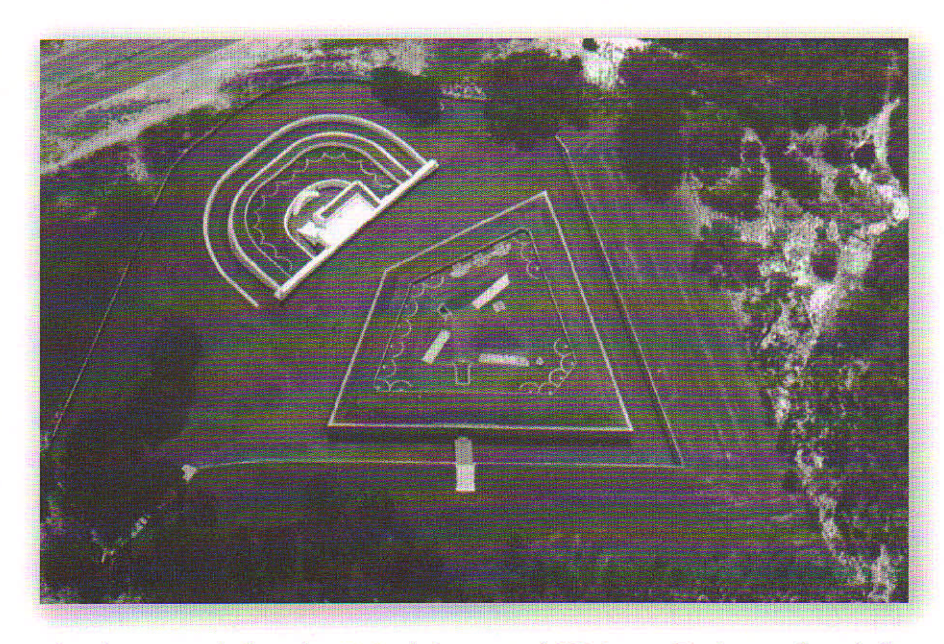
There are few original reminders today of the Spanish presence in West Florida. One of these is the Bateria de San Antonio, which was part of the many Spanish and English fortifications that were found all over Pensacola. Previous fortifications had protected the hill of Barrancas, on which the present structure of the Spanish battery now stands. During the British period of occupation in both East and West Florida, from 1763 to 1783, a fortification was built on Barrancas in 1771 and was known as the "Royal Navy Redoubt." When Spain formally regained Florida in 1783, the former British fort was renamed Fort San Carlos de Barrancas.

The newly acquired fort on Barrancas wasn't sufficient for the protection of Pensacola Bay. When Spain declared war on England in October 1796, plans for a more permanent fortification in the area were discussed by a council of war in Spanish New Orleans. The Royal Navy Redoubt had not been capable of stopping Galvez's invasion force in 1781, and the Spaniards did not want the same episode to happen to them. The fortification was to be a seven-gun water battery or *medialuna* (half-moon), and was to be located at the foot of the hill of Barrancas. Its guns would have a better coverage of the bay's entrance than the former British fort atop the same hill, by delivering ricochet fire over the surface of the bay to hit ships at the waterline. Construction began under the direction of Francisco P. Gelabert in 1797.

By 1798 the battery had nearly been completed when the Spanish realized that the new fortification had no means of protecting itself from the rear. The former British fort on top of the hill had fallen into disuse. In 1821



The powder magazine of the Bateria de San Antonio de Barrancas. (Author)

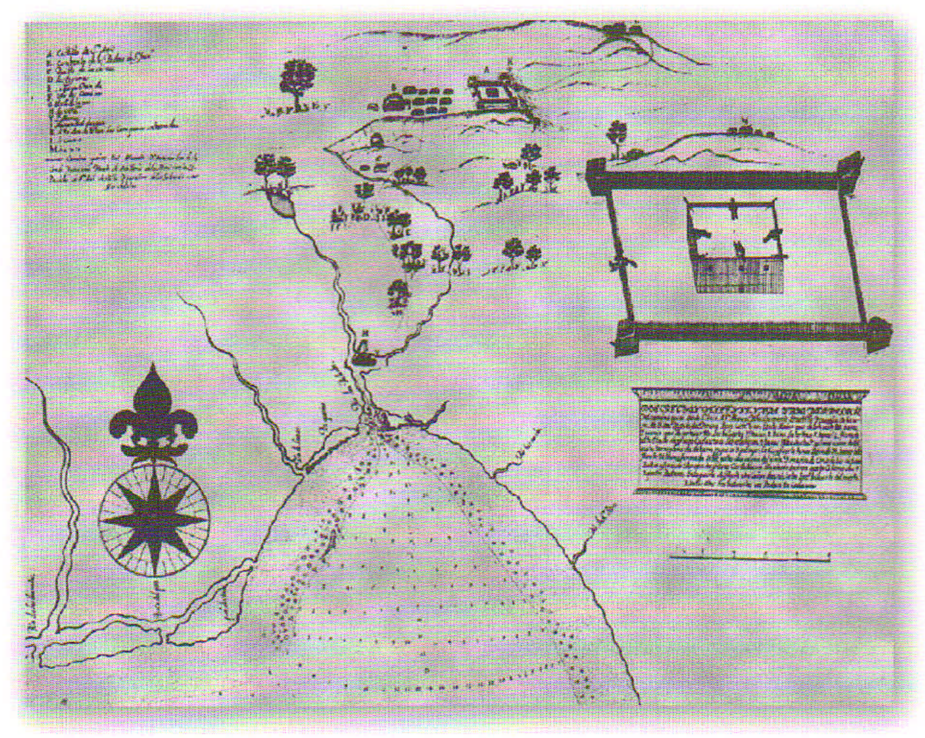


Aerial view of the crescent-shaped Bateria de San Antonio with the later Fort Barrancas constructed following the United States' acquisition of the Florida territory from Span in 1821. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Florida was ceded to the United States and US Army Engineers found the masonry fort to be still usable; it was repaired in 1840. The history of the battery continues with the construction of Fort Barrancas in the 1840s.

Fort San Luis

As early as 1607, Apalachee chiefs asked the governor of Spanish Florida to send friars to their province, and Franciscan friars made a friendly visit the following year. In 1633, the friars established the mission of San Luis de Jinayca and by 1645 the first deputy governor of Apalachee was appointed. In 1647, non-Christian Indians staged an uprising in which seven of the eight existing



The only cartographic documentation of Fort San Luis is the Admiral Antonio de Landeche map of 1705, which depicts Apalachee Province the year after San Luis was burned and abandoned. Although the features on the map are incorrect, the generalized depiction of the fort is believed to be relatively accurate. It was a common practice during this time to emphasize the most important element shown, in this case the fort. Since part of the palisade was still standing in 1705, and one of the soldiers who accompanied Admiral Landeche had been stationed at San Luis and recalled its appearance, it is generally accepted that the sketch of the fort complex is probably not too far off the mark. (Courtesy of Mission San Luis)

churches were destroyed and the deputy governor, his family, and three friars were murdered. Mission San Luis de Jinayca and a large native population moved to its present location, off present-day Mission Road and Ocala Road in Tallahassee, in 1656 and by this time the mission was recognized as the provincial capital. The Spaniards and native inhabitants built residential areas, an Apalachee Council House, a Spanish fort, and a Franciscan religious complex. The fort was an extensive, palisaded, and fortified town in the form of an irregular parallelogram with bastions at its angles and a blockhouse (approximately 90 x 60ft or 27.5 x 18m) in the center, and the whole surrounded by a moat. The fort and mission served as headquarters for seven missionary settlements in the Tallahassee area. By 1675, with a population of more than 1,500 people, San Luis was the largest community in the province. A new name, San Luis de Talimali, appeared in Spanish documents.

War broke out between Britain and Spain in 1702, with the forces of British Governor Oglethorpe threatening Spanish East Florida. An army of 50 Carolinians and approximately 1,000 allied Creek Indians led by Colonel James Moore invaded West Florida in January 1704, and destroyed five of the Apalachee missions. After two more missions were destroyed in June, the Spanish in July evacuated Fort San Luis and blew up the fort and blockhouse. In recognition of its historical significance, San Luis was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960 and was purchased by the State of Florida in 1983. In February 2006 reconstruction of the fort began on the site.

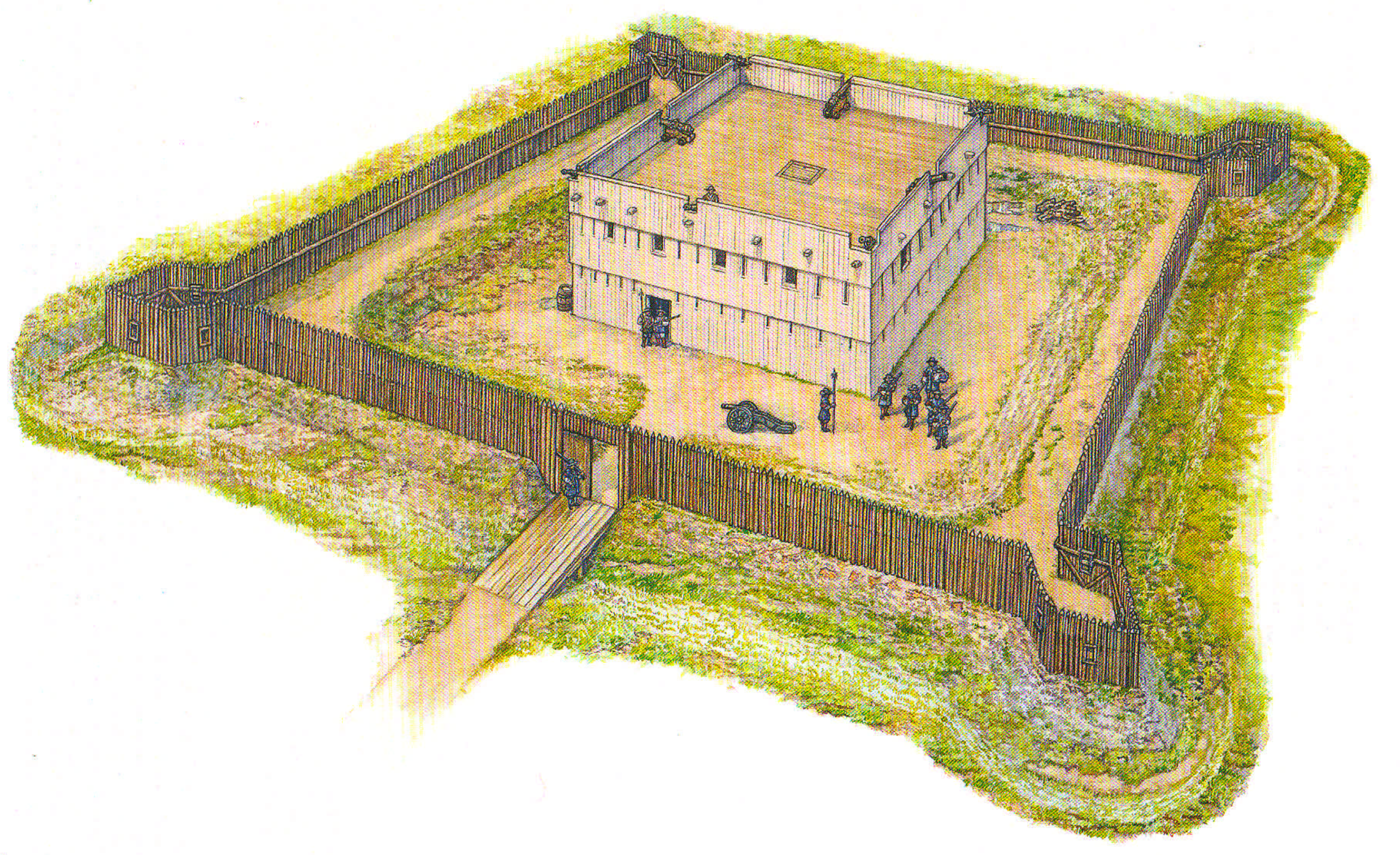


One of the reconstructed bastions of Fort San Luis located near Tallahassee, Florida. (Author)

B FORT SAN LUIS, FLORIDA, 1700

Located in present-day Tallahassee, Florida, the fort was built to defend the mission established in 1633. In 1675, the blockhouse at San Luis was basically a fortified country house. From 1656 to 1680 the size of the garrison varied between 12, 19, and 25 men. From 1695 to1697 San Luis' new blockhouse was built. In mid-April of 1696, the governor reported that it was complete except for one-third of the roof. Work was then suspended because of the spring planting. In October 1702, an attempt to turn the blockhouse into a proper fort began after the defeat of a force of Apalachee warriors on the Flint River. The fort would have a palisade and parapets, as well as a dry moat. It was apparently completed in 1703 despite the impact of a severe epidemic. At the end of July 1704, the diminished Spanish garrison destroyed the fort and withdrew to St Augustine.

Fort San Luis, Florida, 1700 B

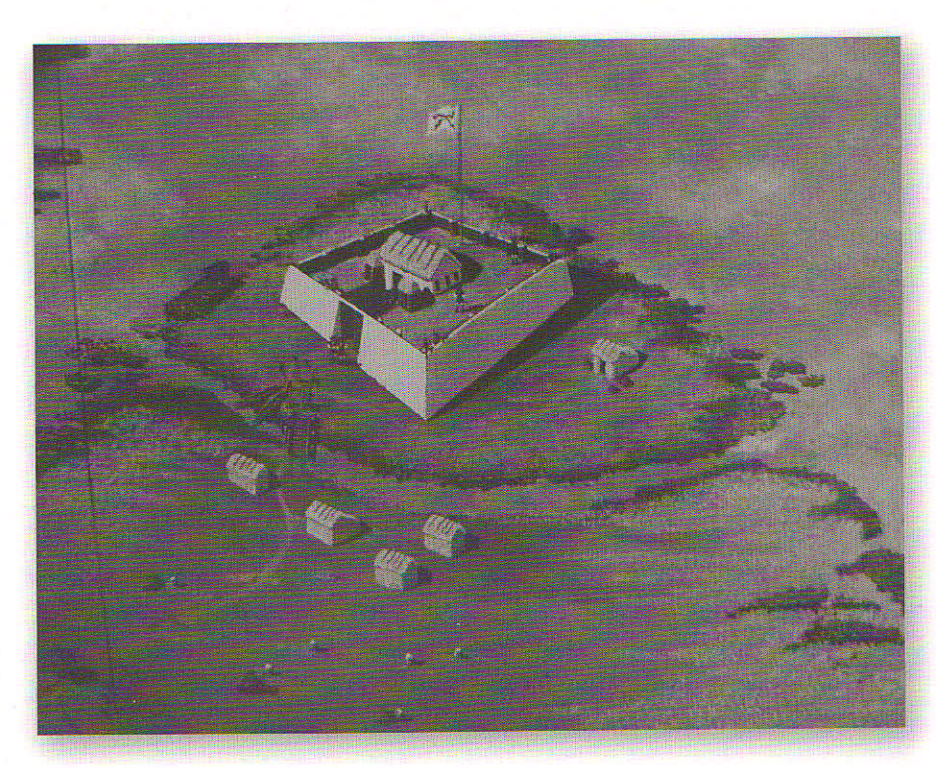


Fort San Marcos

Less than an hour's drive from Fort San Luis de Apalache is the site of Fort San Marcos de Apalache, a place that vividly tells of Florida's varied and colorful past; a past that ranges from the Spaniards who built the fort to the Confederates who rebuilt and defended this small strategic outpost in the confluence of the Wakulla and the Saint Marks Rivers. The first fort was built sometime between 1679 and 1680, during the first Spanish period. This lasted from 1679 when construction of the fort began, to 1763 when Spanish troops relinquished control of the fort to British troops. The rough logs used in the construction of the fort were coated with lime in order to give the appearance of stone.

On March 20, 1682, a pirate ship moved silently up the river to the unfinished fort. Sighting a merchant ship anchored there, the pirates launched three pirogues for an attack against the Spanish installation. One pirogue crew boarded and captured the merchant ship, while the other two attacked the fort. During the engagement, the pirates set fire to the fort, and eventually captured it, taking the Spaniards prisoner. The survivors immediately rebuilt the outpost, only to have it attacked again on June 8. A second pirate attack and frequent English incursions into Florida forced the Spaniards to destroy the fort and to leave the area for a while. These English incursions occurred sometime between 1700 and 1706.

Those short years came during the War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War). Marban writes that in 1704, the English governor of South Carolina, James Moore, attacked "the missions and smaller garrisons of Apalache. Around August of 1706 the English and their savage allies, the Creeks, have leveled all the area north of Florida, from the Apalachicola to the St Johns." The surviving Spanish soldiers in the area fled to either Pensacola or St Augustine. Marban continues: "During the period of abandonment this wooden fort of San Marcos must have fallen into complete decay."



An illustration of Fort San Marcos de Apalache giving its appearance during the 18th century. (Courtesy of Fort St Marks State Historic Site/Photo by the Author)

In 1718, the French were found to be exploring St Joseph Bay and erecting stockade huts and trading stations there. The Spanish ordered the French to leave the area and made preparations to remove them forcibly if it became necessary. The French were not prepared to fight and retreated. In March of that same year Captain José Primo de Ribera was sent to rebuild and modify the old wooden fort in preparation for a full-time garrison to man the strategic outpost.

The next year, as a reflection of the war in Europe, the French surprised and took the Spanish fortress at Pensacola. It changed hands several times before the French finally burned the fort and the settlement. They sailed away while the Spanish abandoned St Joseph Bay, leaving Fort St Marks as the sole military installation west of the Aucilla River for more than a year.

The construction of the stone fort, the foundations of which still exist today, began in 1739. Due to the inaccessibility of the location, construction was slow. When formal occupation of the fort was handed down to the British in 1763, the outpost was not even half finished (nearly 24 years after construction had begun in 1739). Boyd writes: "In fact it would appear that as late as 1758 it was so incomplete that the garrison was housed in the old wooden fort. A hurricane that year flooded the old fort, drowning forty men."

As a result of the French and Indian War – a war in which Spain was wheedled by the French into hostilities with Britain in January 1762, and a war that took Florida from Spain for the next 20 years – English troops occupied Fort San Marcos de Apalache. The British occupation of the fort was from 1763 to 1769. Due to the scarcity of food and supplies, the English soldiers returned to St Augustine to wait out the occupation after only six years at St Marks, as they called San Marcos. It wasn't until 1787 when Spanish troops would reoccupy the fort. The second Spanish period was quiet for the next 13 years. However, 400 Indians, under the command of ex-English officer William Augustus Bowles, captured Fort San Marcos on May 10, 1800. Bowles, who proclaimed himself to be the king of Florida, was ousted from control of the fort by Spanish troops five weeks later.

Due to Spain's inability to control the Indians and to prevent them from making raids from Florida, President Monroe gave Andrew Jackson, then



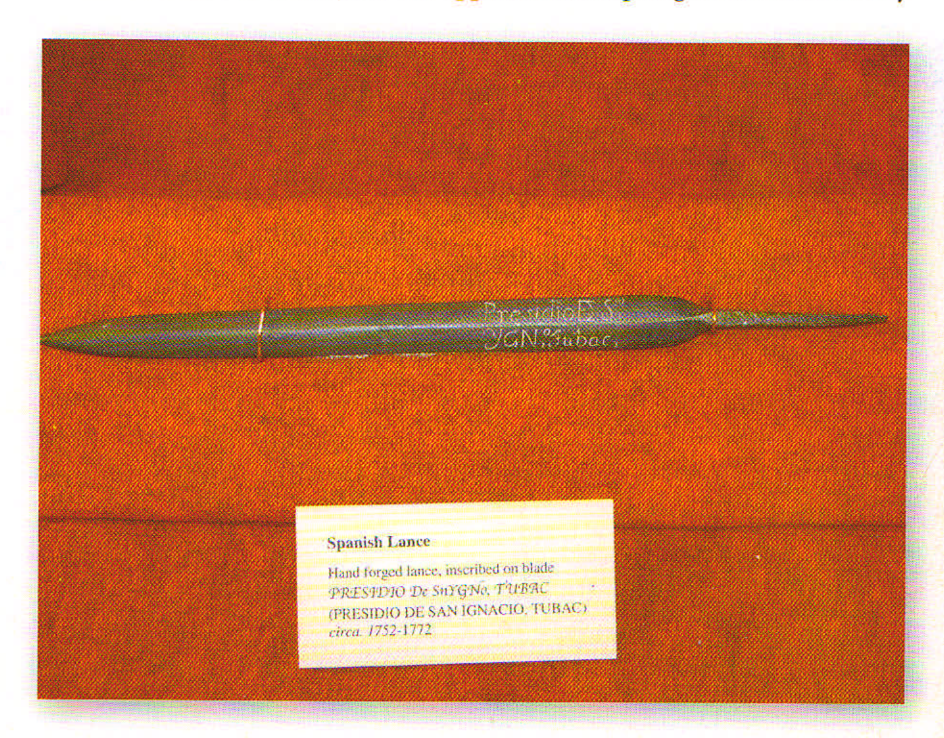
The foundations of Fort San Marcos de Apalache with a War Between the States-era earthen mound magazine in the background. It was constructed by the Confederates when the fort's ruins were re-utilized and renamed Fort Ward. (Author)

a general in the US Army, the task of solving the Indian problem in the south. The southern frontier had long been disrupted by skirmishes between the rival powers. As a last attempt to secure their dwindling position in the New World, England and Spain encouraged the Indians, who needed little provocation, to harass the American pioneers expanding their frontiers into Indian territory.

To ensure the safety and interests of the Americans in the area, Jackson found it necessary to quell the Indians by force. This intervention into Spanish Florida marked the First Seminole War of 1817–18. Declaring martial law, General Jackson commandeered the Spanish-held Fort San Marcos and made it his Indian fighting headquarters. The fort's strategic location made it an ideal place for punishing prisoners of war, disobedient Indians, and rebellious Europeans. An incident concerning Jackson's treatment of European prisoners would lead him and his country into a serious diplomatic crisis with Great Britain; this was known as the Arbuthnot and Ambrister Affair of 1818.

The episode at Fort San Marcos caused more commotion than any other incident of the highly controversial First Seminole War. Arbuthnot was in charge of the Forbes Company at Fort San Marcos. When Jackson commandeered the fort, Arbuthnot was taken prisoner and charged with spying and inciting the Indians. At his court martial, Arbuthnot was found guilty and sentenced to hang.

Ambrister was captured by a party of Jackson's men who were returning from a futile attempt to capture Chief Bowlegs' (Bolecks') village. They found in Ambrister's possession a letter from Arbuthnot warning Bowlegs of Jackson's plan to attack. Ambrister was also court-martialed, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. Both he and Arbuthnot were executed on the day Jackson left Fort San Marcos: April 29, 1818. With Jackson's withdrawal from the fort Spanish troops were able to re-occupy the installation. Jackson's troops had left behind 19 of their comrades at St Marks, who had died of illness during their occupation of 1817–18. The British anger over the execution of two of its subjects was appeased with apologies from US military



An inscribed hand-forged Spanish lance made in the Presidio de San Ignancio Tubac (Arizona), *c.*1752–*c.*1772. (Courtesy of Tubac Presidio State Historic Park/Photo by the Author)

officers and by a payment of indemnity to the bereaved families. Thus, a third war with Britain was avoided. The incident later went on to haunt the presidential election of Andrew Jackson.

The year 1821 marked the final end of Spanish dominance in the region when Florida was ceded to the United States. Plans were made for the transfer of power between Spanish and American troops in Fort San Marcos. Young writes that the ceremony would begin with a:

> salute fired by the fort on Tuesday morning, on hoisting the Spanish flag. During the disembarcation of the American troops, the flag of the United States will be hoisted along with the Spanish flag, when the fort will again fire a salute. The American officer who delivers the flag to remain in the fort until its delivery. When the American troops are formed near the fort the Spanish flag will be withdrawn under a salute; the guards will then be relieved, and the troops of Spain will march out, and, on passing the former, they will mutually salute; when the American troops will be marched in to and occupy the fortress.

On Tuesday, July 10, 1821, everything went according to the plan. Immediately after the transfer of power, US troops occupied the fort for three years and in 1824 the fort was turned over to the territorial government of Florida. In 1839 the fort was returned to the US government and a federal marine hospital was constructed near the site with materials from the crumbling Spanish fort. The hospital was for the care of yellow fever victims and was completed in 1858. The United States abandoned the hospital with the outbreak of the War Between the States, and the hospital building slowly disintegrated with time. Today, the San Marcos de Apalache State Historic Site museum stands on the foundations of this old hospital.

With the outbreak of the War Between the States in 1861, Confederate forces garrisoned the old fort and renamed it Fort Ward. The fort served as a deterrent to Union naval forces and prevented penetration inland from



Barracks of Misión La Purisima Concepcion de Maria Santisima, which was founded on December 8, 1787 by Franciscan Padre Presidente Fermin Francisco Lasuen. (Author)

the Gulf. No major battles were fought at the fort and life at St Marks during the war continued much as it had done previously. The fort would remain in Confederate hands until the end of the war.

Earthen and wooden barricades were built over the ruins of the old Spanish fort, and protective earthworks were erected along the south wall of the bombproof. The Confederates also covered the north, west, and east walls. A powder magazine was located on a large hill behind the foundations of the curtain wall. It was also surrounded by earthworks that gave protected access to two gun emplacements. One emplacement was located on the remains of the Bastion of San Fernando to the west and the other on the remains of the bombproof. Both emplacements were enclosed by earthworks, having a core of rubble taken from the Spanish fort and were braced with rows of wooden posts. Inside each emplacement was a large gun platform with a sloping floor of heavy wooden planks, which absorbed the recoil of the cannons.

A gap was made in the curtain wall foundation as an entrance to enable access to the gun enclosure from the powder magazine. An artillery company also manned a barricade on the east bank of the river near the lighthouse. The face of the old Spanish fort had undergone major changes with the additions of these earthworks and the relocation of some of the fort's rubble. Union naval officers, who had established an effective blockade off the mouth of the St Marks River, regarded the Confederate batteries at St Marks with great respect.

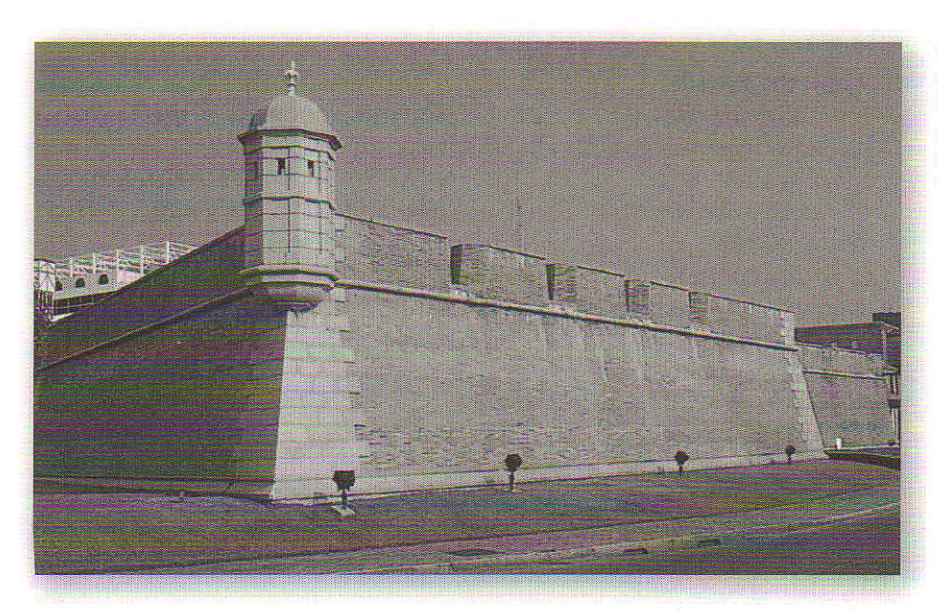
By act of Congress and by approval of President John F. Kennedy, Fort San Marcos de Apalache was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1962. On January 11, 1966, the site was made a state historic site with a museum to be established on the former foundations of the marine hospital. Today, this historic site is preserved for future generations to walk about within its ramparts.

Fort Carlota/Fort Condé/Fort Charlotte

The last major fortification that protected the greatest extent of West Florida was Fort Carlota. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville originally founded the settlement of Mobile in 1702 as Fort Louis de la Mobile, 27 miles (44km)



Interior view of the soldiers' quarters of Misión La Purisima Concepcion de Maria Santisima. Soldiers were stationed at the missions to provide protection, and as a rule one corporal and five soldiers lived at the mission. Usually, unmarried soldiers lived in the barracks, or "El Cuartel." (Author)



Fort Condé was first built by the French in 1723 and was later occupied by the British and Spanish. During the Spanish occupation it was known as Fort Carlota. (Author)

from the mouth of Mobile Bay. After the Mobile River flooded and damaged the fort in 1711, Mobile was relocated to the current site. A temporary wooden stockade fort was constructed, also named Fort Louis after the older fort upriver.

In 1723, construction of a new brick fort with a stone foundation began, renamed later as Fort Condé in honor of King Louis XIV's brother. The original Fort Condé, from 1723, was shaped in the form of a seven-pointed star, with guard towers raised at the points. Some buildings within the fort compound had the French mansard roof style, with dormer windows extending from each roof. The tall chimneys at the ends of the buildings were not used on the later reconstructed Fort Condé. Also, the lengths of buildings were longer in the original fort, which are at 4/5 scale at the replica fort.

Fort Condé guarded Mobile and its citizens for almost 100 years, from 1723 to 1820. The fort had been built by the French to defend against British or Spanish attacks on the strategic location of Mobile, on the easternmost part of the French Louisiana colony. The strategic importance of Mobile and Fort Condé was significant: the fort protected access to the strategic region between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic colonies along the Alabama River and Tombigbee River. Fort Condé and its surrounding buildings covered about 11 acres (4.5 hectares) of land. It was constructed of local brick and stone, with earthen dirt walls, as well as cedar wood. A crew of 20 black slaves and five white workmen performed the original work on the fort. If the fort had been reconstructed full-size, it would cover large sections of Royal Street, Government Street, Church Street, St Emanuel Street, and Theatre Street in downtown Mobile.

During the years 1763–80, England was in possession of the region, and Fort Condé was renamed Fort Charlotte in honor of King George III's wife. From 1780 to 1813, Spain ruled the region, and the fort was renamed Fort Carlota. In 1813, Mobile was occupied by US troops, and the fort was renamed again as Fort Charlotte. In 1820, the US Congress authorized the sale and removal of the fort because it was no longer needed for defense. Later, city funds paid for the demolition needed to allow new streets built eastward (towards the river) and southward. By late 1823, most of the surface traces of Mobile's fort were gone, leaving only underground structures.

LOUISIANA TERRITORY

In 1763, the French colony of Louisiana was ceded to the Spain as a secret provision of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and confirmed in the Treaty of Paris, but no Spanish governor came to take control until 1766. French and German settlers, hoping to restore New Orleans to French control, forced the Spanish governor to flee to Spain in the bloodless rebellion of 1768. A year later the Spanish reasserted control, executing five ringleaders and sending five plotters to a prison in Cuba, and formally instituting Spanish law. Other members of the rebellion were forgiven as long as they pledged loyalty to Spain. Although a Spanish governor was in New Orleans, the settlement was under the jurisdiction of the Spanish garrison in Cuba.

In the final third of the Spanish period, two massive fires burned the great majority of the city's buildings. The 1788 the Great New Orleans Fire destroyed 856 buildings in the city on Good Friday, March 21 of that year, and another fire destroyed 212 buildings in December 1794. After the fires, the city was rebuilt in the Spanish style with bricks, firewalls, iron balconies, and courtyards replacing the simpler wooden buildings constructed in the French style. Much of the 18th-century architecture still present in the French Quarter was built during this time and demonstrates Spanish colonial characteristics. Arguably, the three most impressive structures in New Orleans – St Louis Cathedral, the Cabildo, and the Presbytere – date from this period. In addition, the Spaniards improved or completely replaced earlier French defenses.

A report detailing the conditions of the defenses of New Orleans and its garrison in 1797 was compiled by the barón de Carondelet and addressed to Brigadier General Don Diego de Lazaga, and is detailed here:

> FORT ST CHARLES: Don Pedro Enrique, Officer of Artillery, Commander. All the artillerists of the Royal Corps, less four. Reinforcements of headquarters: Sixty men from both the corps of Mexico and Louisiana. Total, sixty and thirty prisoners.



The basic building block for some colonial French and Spanish fortifications in the Gulf regions of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and West Florida. The abundance of red clay in these areas facilitated the construction of more durable fortifications in New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola. This is the same style of brick used in the building of Fort Condé in Mobile and Bateria de San Carlos de Barrancas in Pensacola. This example was found in Mobile where the French fort once stood. (Author)



Fort Saint John was first built by the French in the early 18th century as a means to protect New Orleans from the rear by way of Lake Pochetrain. It was rebuilt by the Spanish in 1779 and restored by Americans in 1808. The badly neglected fortification is one of the few colonial-era defenses in the New Orleans area that are still standing. (Author)

HEADQUARTERS: Colonel Francisco Boitliony, Commanding. Four artillerists for the battalion pieces and all other troops not otherwise assigned for this position; also the remaining prisoners unemployed at St Charles and the park. Should there be cause for the troops to abandon the headquarters they will pass in the rear and camp between the house of Sign and the fort.

They will immediately raise a breastwork around the said house, behind which will be placed a detachment of forty men, also another of fifteen in the mill of Mr Sign, in order to preserve communication with Fort St Charles.

[This Mr Sign was probably Lorenzo Sigur, wbose plantation near Fort St Charles was sold to Peter de Marlgny on December 18, 1798.]

ARTILLERY PARK: The Commander of Artillery, Don Carlos Datnoy. Commanding. Twelve men from the regulars, commanded by an inferior officer, and twenty prisoners.

GALLEYS, GUNBOATS: The galleys and light gunboats will station themselves near the Park Battery, in order to remove immediately, with whatever boats may be found, from the stores all arms, ammunition and provisions, transporting the whole to the house of Sign, and this task accomplished, they will maintain them selves under cover of the fire from Fort St Charles.

TREASURY: The treasury will also be transferred to the house of Sign, the roof of which will be lowered to avoid fire.

POWDER MAGAZINE: All the powder which is on the other side of the river shall be transported to this side and placed in the powder magazine of Fort St Charles, which will be covered with heavy beams and breastworks on all sides, as also the provisions of said fort. This magazine will furnish all the provisions of the city.

TOOLS AND ARMS: All tools, such as spades, hoes and pick-axes necessary to raise breastworks will be transferred by the prisoners, together with the arms from the armory and headquarters, to the house of Sign.

REDOUBT ST JOHN: Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Perez. The company of grenadiers from the battalion of militia commanded by Don Francisco Riano; fifty mulattoes commanded by their captain, Francisco Dorville; twenty artillerists from the militia, commanded by their captain, Don

Miguel Fortier. Having sufficient forces, the house and pigeon-house of Treme will be occupied to defend the battery which will be established under the protection of the pigeon-house.

RAMPART ST JOHN: The first half of the third company of the battalion of militia commanded by its captain, Don Juan Durel; Thirty black troops commanded by their first lieutenant, Pedro Thomas; Ten artillerists commanded by Don Francisco Durel. The whole under the orders of Don Manuel Perez, who will command also half of the palisades, right and left, between the forts.

FORT ST FERDINAND: Commander, Captain of the Regiment of Regulars. Don Dematio Chalmet De Lino. The half company of the battalion of militia, commanded by its captain, Don Miguel Roig. Fifty men from the company of free blacks, commanded by its captain, Noel Cariere. A corporal and twenty artillerists of militia, commanded by the second lieutenant, Don Pablo Darcantel. The half of the palisades between the forts to the right and left to remain equally under his orders.

FORT BURGUNDY: Colonel of Militia, Don Andres Almonester, Commander. The second half of the second company of the regiment of militia, commanded by Don Antonio Griffon and Don Cristoval de Armas. Forty men of the company of free mulattoes, commanded by its captain, Carlos Simon. Sixteen artillerists of the militia, commanded by its first lieutenant, Don Julian Vienne. The ramparts between Forts Burgundy and St Ferdinand, and also one-half of the palisades between the ramparts, right and left, will also remain under his orders.

RAMPART BURGUNDY: The first half of the second company, commanded by Captain Don Antonio Argote, a sergeant and six artillerists from the company of militia.

FORT ST LOUIS: Commander, Don Gilberto Andry, Captain of Regulars. The second half of the first company of the battalion of militia, commanded by Don Lorenzo Wiltz, Twenty-five men of the company of free mulattoes, commanded by the first lieutenant. A corporal and fifteen men of the company of artillery of the militia. With sufficient forces the house of Don Josef Hevia will be occupied, after having lowered its roof and loopholed the walls for the fusiliers.

The fortifications between Forts Burgundy and St Louis will remain under his orders, as also half of the palisades between the mentioned fort and the rampart.

RAMPART ST LOUIS: The first half of the first company of the battalion of militia commanded by Don Pedro Laroche. A sergeant and six artillerists of the company of militia. The second half of the third company of militia, commanded by Don Ursino Durel, and in case of his absence, by Don Vizente LeSassier and Don Louis Awart.

RAMPART ST CHARLES: A sergeant and six artillerists of the company of militia. One-half of the palisades, between Fort St Charles and the rampart, will remain under his orders.

PALISADES: The palisades between the forts will be garrisoned by the neighbors not already enlisted in the different corps of the city, and to avoid all confusion they will be distributed as follows: The neighbors of the First District to the palisades between Forts St Charles and St John. The neighbors of the Second District to those between St Louis and Burgundy. The neighbors of the Third District to the palisades between the Fort St John and St Ferdinand. The neighbors of the last district to the palisades between St Ferdinand and Burgundy. The dragoons of Louisiana will follow the general.

CAVALRY: The dragoons of Mexico will form in battle line to the right of the two companies of carbineers, in the square, in front of the Chanty Hospital,



The reconstruction of El Presidio Real de San Agustín del Tucson includes the 20ft-tall (6m) adobe tower and the 10ft-high (3m) adobe walls. On the south side of the presidio corner is a large mural wall that provides a "view" into the remainder of the 11-acre (4.5-hectare) presidio. (Author)

the company of St John forming the centre of both corps. They will charge together with greatest speed the enemy whenever they attempt to penetrate within the fortification, without allowing them time to reform themselves before entering the streets.

SIGNAL OF ALARM: Three consecutive cannon shots from Fort St Charles,with the flag of the navy flying during the day, or a lantern, if at night, will constitute the signal of alarm or attack.

SIGNAL TO WITHDRAW TO FORT ST CHARLES: Three consecutive cannon shots, with a white flag flying from any fort, if during the day, or three lanterns, if at night, will be the signal for all troops to withdraw to Fort St Charles, after having disabled the guns.

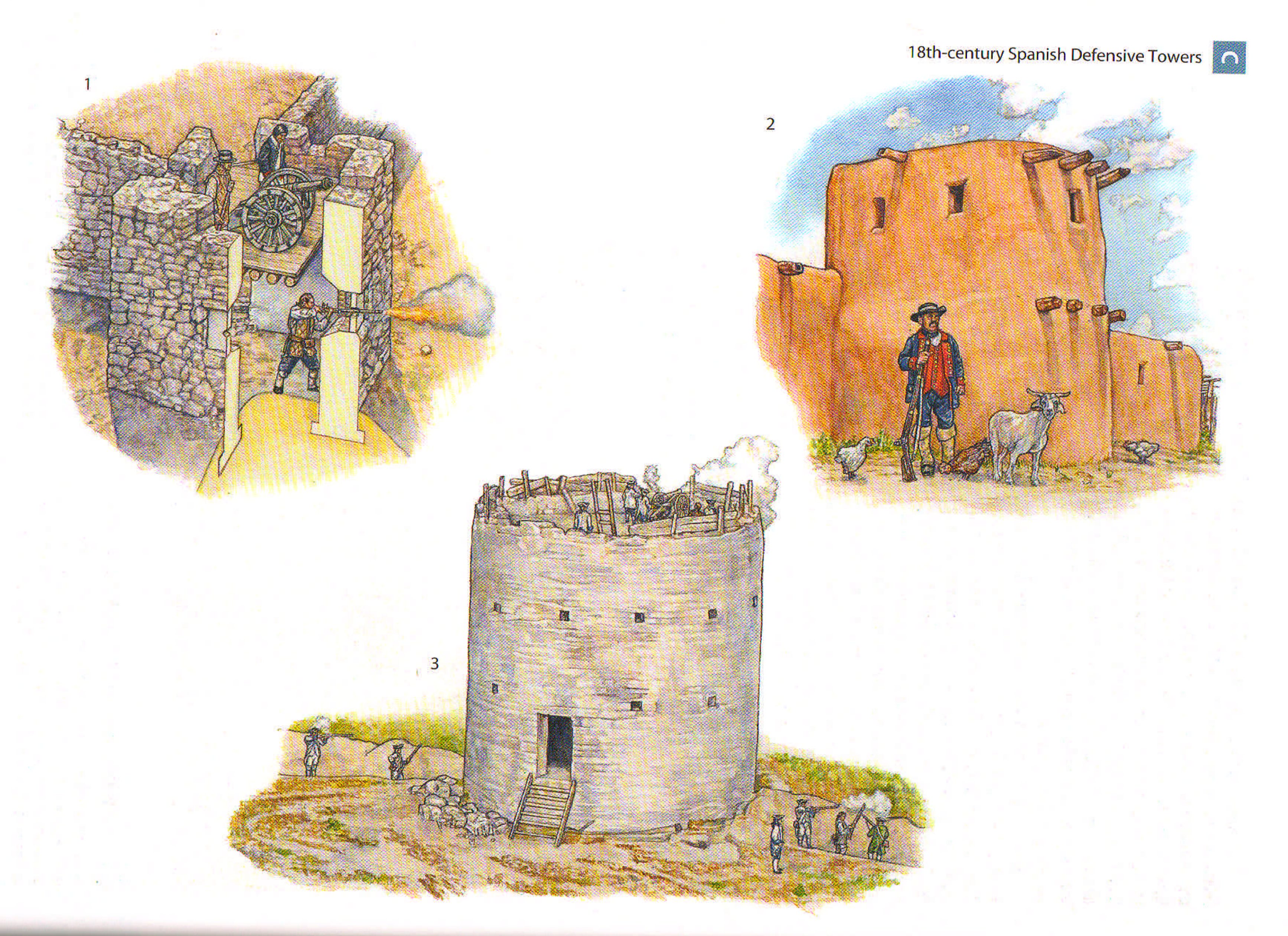
SIGNAL TO EVACUATE THE PARK AND MAGAZINE: One cannon shot and a white flag under the marine flag from Fort St Charles will be the signal to evacuate the Artillery Park and the magazines.

(Signed) The Baron De Carondelet.

New Orleans, June 5, 1797.

P.S. – The major of the garrison, immediately after the signal of alarm or attack, will call around at each post of the city, beginning with Fort St John and others, including Fort St Louis, to verify if everything is in order in each, reporting to the general, through an orderly, all news and errors which he may discover.

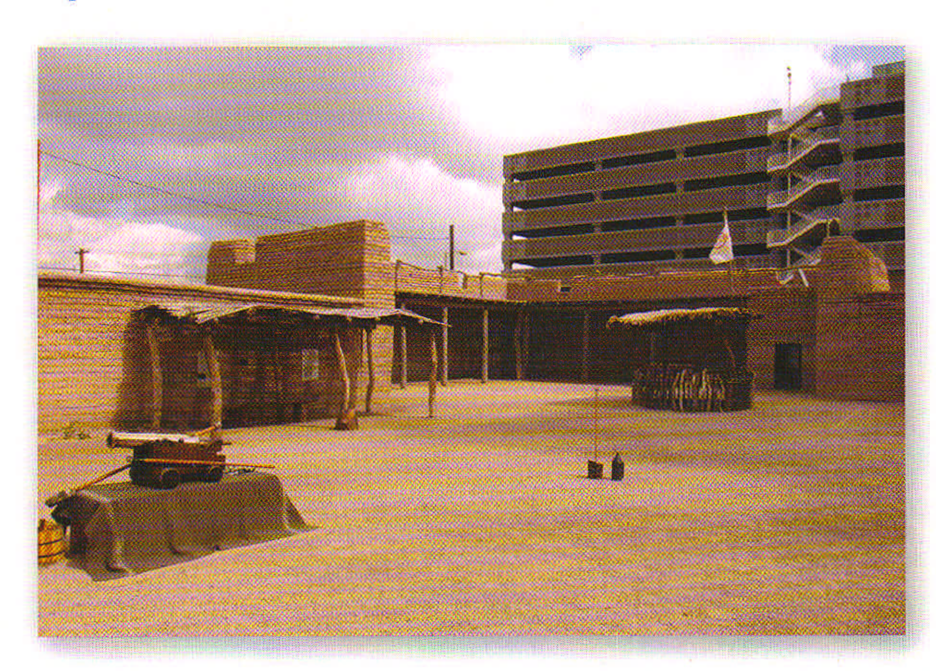
Today, the remnants of the defenses of New Orleans exist only in street names such as Plaza de Armas, Esplanade Avenue, North Rampart Street, and Barracks Street. The only standing colonial-era fort that protected the Lake Pontchartrain entrance of Bayou Saint John was erected by the French in 1701, before the founding of the city of New Orleans. After Louisiana passed into Spanish control, a larger brick fort was constructed at the site of the neglected old French fortification; this was known as "San Juan del Bayou." This is the same "Redoubt St John" mentioned in the 1797 report. Louisiana passed back to France and then into the hands of the United States. The fort was decommissioned in 1823. The four cypress trees near the fort mark the resting place of four Spanish officers.


C
18th-century Spanish Defensive Towers
1
2
3

A house known as the Old Spanish Fort, located near Pascagoula, Mississippi, is probably the oldest in Mississippi, yet it has changed little with the passage of time. It was built around 1718 by Joseph Simon de la Pointe on land given to his aunt, the Duchess of Chaumont, by Louis XIV. Fortified by its French occupants for defense against the Indians and Spanish, it was sturdily built of hewn timbers, shell lime, and shells. The Spanish, who took over the area in 1783, utilized it both as a fort and as a chateau. The site is now a museum and is located in Jackson County, on Krebs Lake, 1 mile (1.6km) outside of Pascagoula.

During the American Revolution the British at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, built a large earthen fort in 1779, mounting 13 cannons and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dickson. The fort was manned by about 400 British soldiers (including German mercenaries) and 100 civilians. The Spanish forces under Governor Bernardo Galvez that besieged Baton Rouge set up an earthen battery of six cannons, and on September 21, 1779, after a three-hour bombardment, forced the surrender of the British fort located about 1,000yrds (1km) north on the bank of the river. Terms included surrender of the British fort at Natchez, and ended British control of the lower Mississippi River. The Spanish rebuilt the star-shaped earthen fortification and renamed it Fort San Carlos, from which West Florida parishes were governed from 1779 to 1810.

Not wanting to be under the rule of Spain, the citizens of West Florida revolted, led by Philemon Thomas, and on September 23, 1810, raised the flag over the fort declaring their independence and announcing the birth of the Republic of West Florida. The citizens then turned the area over to the United



Interior view of El Presidio Real de San Augustín del Tucson. (Author)

C 18TH-CENTURY SPANISH DEFENSIVE TOWERS

These are examples of various defensive towers commonly found in the fortified missions in Texas as well as in large private ranches as seen from Rancho de los Golondrinas in New Mexico. Building materials ranged from adobe to stone. The largest of these defensive towers was Fort San Carlos, which formed part of the defenses of Saint Louis during the American Revolution. The towers shown here are: Mission Espiritu Santo, Texas **(1)**; Rancho de Las Golondrinas, New Mexico **(2)**; and Fort San Carlos, Missouri **(3)**.

States on December 10, 1810. The fort served as the assembly point for American troops going to the Creek War in 1813–14 and to the battle of New Orleans in 1814–15. A major expansion of the post was made in 1819–23 when new barracks were built and a large arsenal depot was established to serve the southwestern United States. The four, two-story brick buildings were built in 1825 after six years of planning. Captain James Gadsden of the US Army, who prepared the schematics for the barracks, was in charge of the construction. Originally, there were five buildings, Gadsden having intended that a group of buildings arranged in a pentagon-shaped configuration be erected for the boarding of enlisted soldiers. During the War Between the States, the site was briefly renamed Fort Williams by the Union forces that occupied Baton Rouge. Faint traces of the Spanish earthworks of Fort San Carlos can still be found adjacent to the Pentagon Barracks.

The location of Arkansas Post has a history dating back to 1683, as a fur-trading post settled by the French. In 1763, after the French lost the Seven Years' War, they surrendered the half of Louisiana that lay east of the Mississippi to the British and gave the western half, including Arkansas Post, to their ally Spain. The resident French traders and settlers remained, but Spanish troops occupied the post in de Reggio's site. The Spanish had difficulty adjusting to the diplomatic requirements of this frontier post, where Indians and French far outnumbered the handful of Spanish soldiers. In 1772, Spanish Commandant Fernando de Leyba tried to enforce his superiors' orders to reduce expenses on gifts and feasts for the Quapaws and to gain power over the French who interpreted between him and the Quapaws. In response, Quapaw Chief Cazenonpoint threatened to "put the knife to the post," after which de Leyba agreed to most of the Quapaws' demands for goods, and the post was saved.

In 1778, Spanish King Carlos III decided to take advantage of the American Revolution to declare war against his British rival. In 1779, to avoid flooding, Spanish Commandant Balthazár de Villiers moved the post back to Écores Rouges. At first, his new post did not even have a real fort, but fighting between



A reconstructed section of the Spanish fort at Arkansas Post (Author)

the British, Spanish, and various Indian groups resulting from the American Revolution made local French settlers fear a Chickasaw attack. The settlers insisted on building a fort where they could seek protection. Villiers named the four-bastioned stockade fortification Fort Carlos III, after his king.

The soldiers and settlers would soon be glad of the new fort when Chickasaw and British forces attacked in the westernmost battle of the Revolutionary War. The British and the American rebels had already made peace, but violence continued on the Mississippi. On April 17, 1783, a force of at least 60 British men, 12 Chickasaws, and a few African-Americans, led by Scottish trader James Colbert, attacked. To defend the post, the commandant, Captain Jacobo Du Breuil, had only 30 Spanish soldiers, four Quapaws, and a handful of neighboring French settlers. Knowing that the attackers had little fear of the few Europeans protecting the post, Du Breuil ordered his men to "yell like attacking Indians." To give credence to the pretense that Indians were defending the fort, one of the four Quapaw ran into the midst of the attackers and threateningly planted a tomahawk in the ground. Believing the deception, Colbert's forces fled, taking the prisoners they had captured. The next day, Quapaw Chief Angaska crossed the Mississippi River with 100 Quapaws and 20 Spanish soldiers and persuaded Colbert to surrender most of the prisoners.

In 1800, Spain ceded Louisiana to Napoleon, but the French did not reoccupy the colony. Thus, in 1804, after the Louisiana Purchase of the previous year, Spanish troops transferred the post to the United States. That year, the United States established a military presence at Arkansas Post, staffed by Lieutenant James Many and three soldiers. The next year, John B. Treat opened an official US trading factory there, which operated until 1810.

During the Revolution, particularly after the French became open allies of the Americans in 1778, the Spanish began to provide covert aid and supplies to the English colonists. The Mississippi Valley became an area of scattered British outposts, illegal American settlements, and official Spanish/French mercantile towns such as St Louis. The entire region was sparsely settled by Europeans, and in a time of conflict was considered "up for grabs."

In 1778–79, George Rogers Clark campaigned in the Mississippi Valley against the British outposts. Eventually, running low on supplies, Clark came to St Louis to ask the Spanish lieutenant governor, Fernando de Leyba, for help. De Leyba urged the St Louis merchants and traders to advance supplies to Clark on credit. Many went broke doing so. Tensions increased as some of Clark's men, encamped at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, deserted and caused trouble in St Louis and Ste Genevieve. In 1779 Spain, after years of covert help to the American cause, entered the war against England as an ally of France, though Spain never openly allied with the Americans. Spanish Royal Governor Galvez sent reinforcements to St Louis, then attacked and reduced British posts on the lower Mississippi.

In St Louis, Fernando de Leyba, learning that Spain was at war, urged the construction of a series of four stone towers and entrenchments to protect the town. Many locals thought such preparation foolish, and did not want to invest money in it. They were convinced that St Louis would never be attacked, and that life would go on the way it always had. But de Leyba pushed for money and laborers. At the top of a hill at the corner of today's Walnut and Broadway, the first of the towers, called Fort San Carlos, was completed by April 1780, and a trench was dug around the town. Tensions mounted in St Louis, which was wide open to attack and protected by only 16 Spanish soldiers and the able-bodied men of the town. In fact, the Spanish

Living conditions varied little for the Spanish garrison of a frontier outpost. This scene from El Presidio Real de San Augustín del Tucson would have been typical in an 18th-century military barracks from Florida to California. (Author)



garrison had only 15 soldiers and a drummer of the Louisiana Regiment. The local militia provided the primary defense of the town. As in most towns, the militia consisted of all able-bodied males between the ages of 14 and 50. The St Louis militia was comprised of 220 out of the 226 eligible males. A detachment of about 60 militia and 12 regular soldiers from Ste Genevieve was also in St Louis.

On May 26, 1780, between 1,300 and 2,000 British-led Sioux, Sac, Fox, and Winnebago warriors suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting community of 900 people. The Indians killed several settlers and slaves who were tending their fields on the outskirts of town. The firing alerted St Louis' militia, who ran to the barely completed entrenchments. The attackers were hit with withering fire from militia musketry, but it was the cannon placed in the tower called Fort San Carlos that made the Indians retreat. The two-hour battle left 21 villagers killed and 71 captured. George Rogers Clark and his Americans drove off a simultaneous British attack against Cahokia on the eastern side of the river.

The successful (if costly) defense of St Louis prevented the British from obtaining control of the Mississippi River Valley, and was fought by predominantly French citizens under a Spanish governor along with a small number of Spanish troops, African-American slaves, and a smattering of American settlers. No further attempts were made to take St Louis from the Spanish. Lieutenant Governor de Leyba died of illness one month afterward. Meanwhile, in a series of brilliant campaigns, Bernardo de Gálvez took Mobile from the British in 1780, and Pensacola in 1781. By 1781, British power in the western theater had been nullified by the efforts of George Rogers Clark and the Spanish under Galvez. Two bronze markers mark the general location of Fort San Carlos (one in front of the current Marriott Hotel on Market Street and the other inside the lobby).

Nothing remains of the defenses built by de Leyba's men during the American Revolution; however, a recent discovery of a later defensive structure

built by the Spaniards was found nearby. For more than 200 years, the structure sat on property off what is now Muegge Road, where the developer Fischer and Frichtel recently built Spring Mill, a development of luxury homes that start at about $500,000. In 2004, as developers cleared farmland on the site, they discovered that the barn had a unique interior. The barn was wooden on the outside, but on the inside, four thick stone walls held up its second floor. The stone walls formed a room on the barn's first floor, which was probably once used as a livestock crib.

Records from September 1792 show that Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau wrote a letter to Baron de Carondelet, the governor of what at the time was known as Spanish Louisiana and included what is now Missouri. Trudeau reported that Iowa Indians had stolen 38 horses from the village of San Carlos, now known as St Charles. The horses were the only ones the villagers had to work the land, and there was also a bad wheat harvest that year. Subsequent letters showed that life got better in San Carlos. In July 1793, the Indians gave the villagers 37 horses and paid for the other one to be replaced.

Because all the horses were stolen at once, they were probably being kept in a common pasture for the village – probably what was known as the common fields. After studying old maps of the area, it was found that the blockhouse stood in the center of the common fields. The director of the Daniel Boone Home and Boonesfield Village in Defiance, Missouri, said the villagers most likely built it to protect their horses from being stolen again. Because the horses were returned relatively quickly, the villagers probably never had to use it.

In August 2004, after Lindenwood workers took several pictures of the fort and made mechanical drawings, they splashed eight different colors of paint on each interior and exterior wall. They carefully dismantled the walls and hauled truckloads of stone to Boonesfield Village, where it was later rebuilt.

The building is about 24 x 32ft (7 x 10m) in size, and its walls are about 18in. (46cm) thick. It has a main entrance, and each wall has two gun ports – openings wider on the inside and narrower on the outside. Although each stone isn't back in the exact spot it was originally, the stones fit together surprisingly well, and the building looks solid and fortress-like. The fort's roof was thatched with river cane, a type of bamboo. This is probably the only record of an intact Spanish fortification that still exists west of the Mississippi River in what was the Louisiana Territory.

NEW SPAIN: THE PRESIDIOS

Presidio functions were both defensive (to protect Spanish towns, ranches, mining camps, and the towns of friendly Indians) and offensive (against hostile natives or to open up new territories for Spanish occupation). The presidio also became a place where friendly natives came to settle, receive protection against their enemies, and accept gifts of clothing, food, and other items, all of which made them physically dependent on the Spanish.

The Spanish mission of San Miguel de Los Adaes, a Louisiana state historic site, was founded in 1716 to convert the Caddo Adai American Indians living west of Natchitoches, and to stop French expansion into Spanish Texas. In 1721, a new mission was built slightly to the east of the original, along with a presidio to bolster the outpost's military presence. In 1729, Los Adaes was designated the capital of Texas and served as such until 1770. Los Adaes was built as a response to the French Fort St Jean Baptiste in Natchitoches,

This Spanish blockhouse was 'discovered' in 2004 near St Charles when the barn it was in was dismantled. This is the only known intact Spanish fortification still in existence within the Saint Louis area. It has been relocated to the Historic Daniel Boone Home and Boonesfield Village located in Defiance, Missouri. (Author)



and the two outposts were linked directly throughout their existence. Though the forts were built as opposing threats, their relative isolation led the communities of the two outposts to forge strong links with each other, despite the fact that their countries were competitors in North America. The two communities engaged in extensive illegal trade across the border. Intermarriage between the two groups was commonplace.

Many of the Spanish missions in Texas were fortified in order to protect the local inhabitants from Indian attacks. Occasionally soldiers from the nearby presidios provided security and/or training to militias formed by friendly Indians who had converted to Roman Catholicism and who had adopted Hispano/European customs. Seen here is a defensive tower of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo. (Author)

The Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Los Adaes (Fort of Our Lady of Pilar at the Adaes) was surrounded by a hexagonal stockade with three bulwarks. In 1729, with Spain designating Los Adaes the capital of the province of Texas, a series of official buildings were needed. This made Los Adaes the official residence of the governor, and a house was constructed for him within the presidio. Los Adaes remained the administrative seat of government for the entire province for the next 44 years.

The increased prestige of Los Adaes (by designating it the capital of Texas) actually lessened its chances of success by reducing the number of personnel at its military presidio to 60 men. The presidio now couldn't provide the necessary defense against the French and local Indians. The difficulty of supplying Los Adaes and other Spanish missions in East Texas over 1,500 miles (2,414km) of uncertain roads forced them to turn for supplies to the very French against whom they were supposed to guard the Spanish frontier.

Spain allied itself with France against the British in the French and Indian War, and both Havana and Manila fell to the British. To compensate its ally for its loss, France in 1762 ceded to Spain all of its territory west of the Mississippi River, including New Orleans. This erased the border that Los Adaes was supposed to protect, rendering the fort obsolete. The command was given to close the fort in 1772, and Los Adaes was officially abandoned in 1773. The Spanish and American Indian inhabitants were moved to San Antonio, Texas. Despite the forced migration, communities linked to the Spanish fort still exist in the Cane River region today. Many of the residents of Los Adaes either decided to stay in the region when the fort was abandoned, or returned to it later in life. The Indians who were converted to Christianity at the fort still continue the legacy of the original mission at the Church of Saint Anne at their present church in the Spanish Lake community northwest of Natchitoches. Today, there is nothing left standing of the mission or presidio that comprised Los Adaes. The site of the fort has proven to be an extremely important archaeological site where much research has been conducted. The area was established as a state park in 1979, and a small visitor center was erected to help tell the story of the fort.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century frontier conditions in northern New Spain (consisting of present-day northern Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California) had deteriorated to such an extent as a result of Indian depredations and poor management of the presidios that the Spanish Crown found it necessary to order an examination of the entire frontier with the view of relocating presidios and making whatever other adjustments might be necessary to prevent further abandonment of the frontier settlements. The Marques de Rubi was given the assignment of investigating this problem. He began his investigation in 1766. Royal engineers Nicolas de La Fora and José de Urrutia assisted Rubi by drawing plans of presidios and drafting maps of the area traversed.

As a result of the Rubi recommendations, a new line of defense was established, uniform fortification plans were prescribed, and numerous changes were made in regulations governing military personnel. The new line of fortifications was to be composed of some 15 presidios situated at approximately 120-mile (190km) intervals, extending from the Gulf of California in the west, to the Gulf of Mexico in the east, along what is now approximately the northern boundary of Mexico.

The order implementing the realignment of the presidios of the Frontier Line was published in 1772, and was titled "Reglamento y instruccion para los presidios que se han de formar en la linea de frontera de la Nueva Espana."



An aerial photograph of the site of Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Los Adaes near present-day Robeline, Louisiana, and overlaid with an illustration showing how the fort, once the capital of Texas, appeared during the 18th century. (Courtesy of Louisiana Division of Archaeology)

Hugo Oconór was named to the post of "Commander-Inspector of the military forces of the frontier provinces" and took over command on February 17, 1772. Between 1773 and 1775, Oconór succeeded in relocating 12 presidios that had to be moved and added two others. Detachments of troops were ordered to be stationed at San Antiono de Béjar and Arroyo del Ciboloin, Texas. These, however, were not considered presidios of the Frontier Line. The presidios of the Frontier Line were (from west to east) as follows.

Santa Gertrudis del Altar

Santa Gertrudis del Altar was founded in 1755 with 30 soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa. It was intended to restrain the Seris, Pimas, and Papagos Indians.

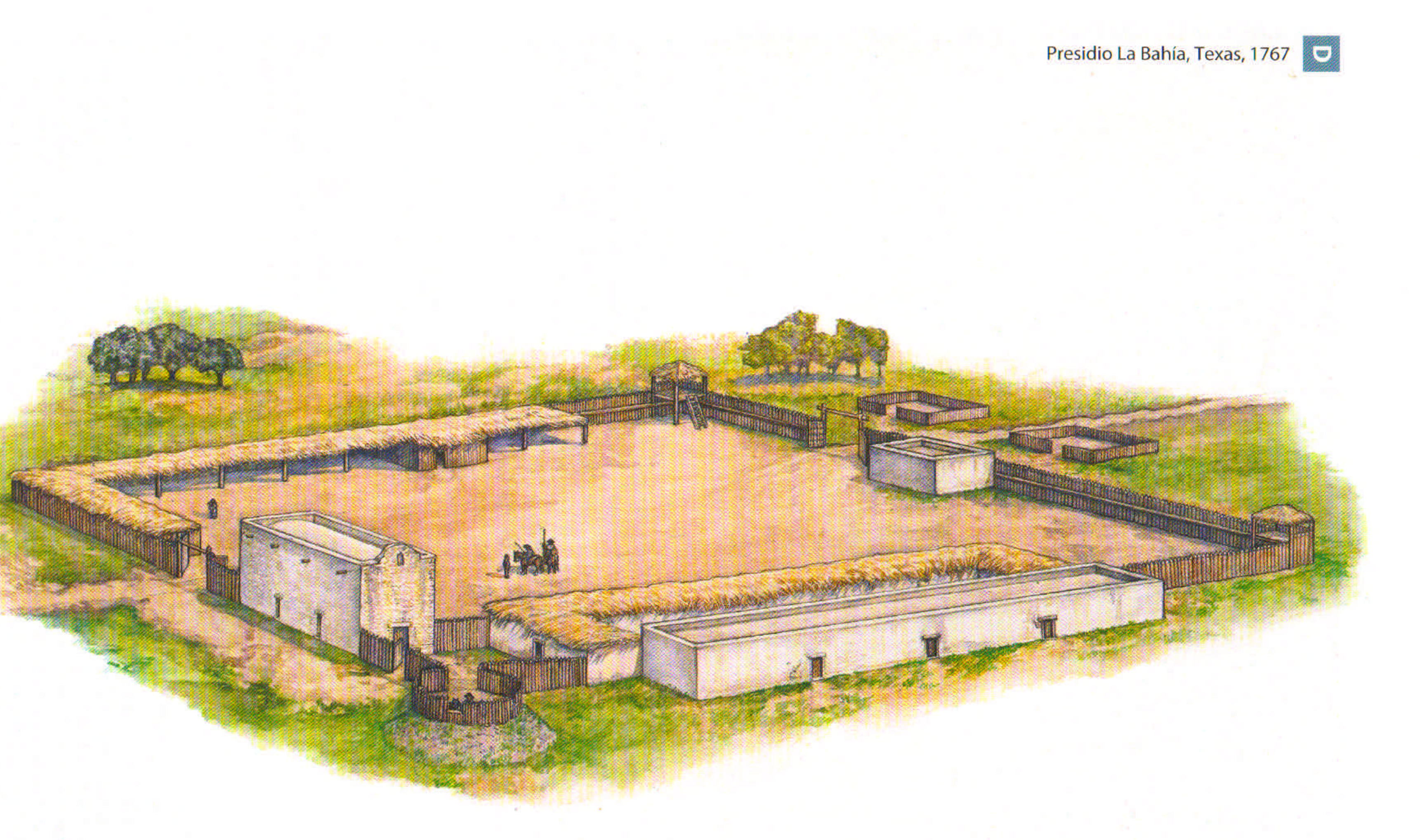
Terrenate

Terrenate was founded in 1742 southwest of the Huachuca Mountains. Late in 1775, Santa Cruz de Terrenate was relocated to near what is now Fairbank, Arizona. Apache Indian attacks forced the relocation of the presidio once again in 1780, to a site near the arroyo of Las Nutrias.

D PRESIDIO LA BAHÍA, TEXAS, 1767

Presidio La Bahía was established in 1749. In February 1750, the new presidio was under the command of Captain Manuel Ramírez de la Piszena. Piszena had personally paid for a stone house to be built for himself, and the 50 soldiers in the garrison lived either in a large barracks or in one of 40 temporary wooden homes that had been built for those with families. A chapel had also been built for the presidio. The presidio was fortified by connecting the stone buildings with earthworks and a wooden stockade, as well as six 8-pdr cannons. Soldiers alternated guard duty at the presidio and the mission; others were assigned to guard the presidio horses or to protect supply trains coming from the Rio Grande or San Antonio de Béxar from attacks by Lipan Apache raiding parties. By 1770, the presidio had been completely rebuilt in stone and had become the only Spanish fortress on the entire Gulf Coast, from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Mississippi River.

Presidio La Bahía, Texas, 1767 D





The Presidio de Santa Cruz de Terrenate was established in 1776 by the Spaniards in order to protect the overland route east of Tucson, Arizona. Terrenate was abandoned less than five years later due to frequent Apache attacks and a lack of supplies. Santa Cruz de Terrenate is the most intact example of an extensive network of presidios. The site consisted of seven structures, and signs provide descriptions of what the structures originally looked like. All that remains now are a stone foundation and a few remaining adobe wall remnants that mark the location of this isolated military station. (Author)

Fronteras

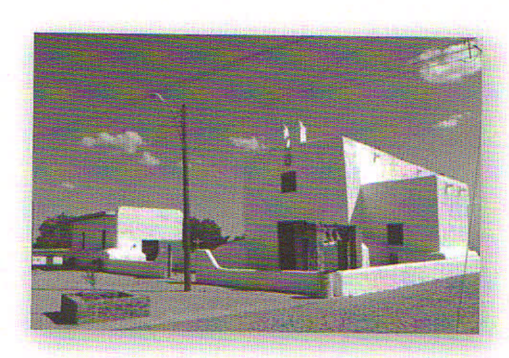
Fronteras was originally founded in 1692. It was initially located to the north in the San Bernardino Valley, possibly in Arizona. Later, in 1780, it was moved south by Teodoro de Croix.

Janos

Presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos was founded in 1686. Around the year 1580 the town of Janos, Chihuahua, (present-day Mexico) was founded by Franciscan missionaries. In 1680, Apaches and other Indians destroyed its mission. As a consequence, a presidio was established at Janos in 1686; the mission was repopulated in 1717 with Janos and Jocomes Indians. A "peace establishment" was formed to integrate Apaches into the settlement. From Janos Presidio and other presidios in the area, the Spanish military continued intermittently to make peace and do battle with the Apaches.

In 1771, Hugo Oconór took over command of the northern frontier and conducted large-scale campaigns against the Apaches. That same year, companies from Janos and San Buenaventura fought Apaches for six days at Sierra de la Boca and the following year about 200 Apaches attacked Janos Presidio. Other military personnel involved in the war with the Apaches included Bernardo de Gálvez, Teodoro de Croix, Diego Borica, Juan Bautista Perú, Narciso de Tapia, Joseph Antonio Rengel, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, Roque de Medina, and Antonio Cordero y Bustamente. Apache leaders included Chafalote, El Zurdo, Pachatijú, Natanijú, El Compá, and Squielnoctero. From 1790 to 1831 a relative degree of peace was attained. In 1791, Pedro de Nava was appointed commandant general of Janos. As Spain's influence in Mexico waned, the administration of presidios weakened, and Mexico's relations with Indian tribes deteriorated.

Chapel and remaining soldiers' barracks of the Presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos, Chihuahua, Mexico. A 1767 map of Janos in the British Library states that "all the construction is of adobe, the entire compound being nearly in ruins, with the exception of the church and the captain's house." (Courtesy of AdeQHA)



San Buenaventura

San Buenaventura was founded in 1776 by troops from Guajoquilla.

El Paso del Norte

El Paso del Norte was founded as a result of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in upper New Mexico. Spaniards moved downriver (southward) and founded the presidio at the present site of Juarez, Chihuahua. The presidio was constructed in 1683. In 1773, because the town of El Paso was well populated and could defend itself, the presidio was moved southward to Carrizal.

Guajoquilla

Guajoquilla was erected in 1752 on orders from Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, and was later known as San Eleazario.

Julimes

Julimes was founded in 1777 at the former site of the presidio of La Juntaat, at the confluence of the Conchos and Del Norte (Rio Grande) Rivers.

Cerro Gordo

Cerro Gordo was founded after 1772 as part of the new frontier defense.

San Sabá

San Sabá was founded in 1757 near the present-day town of Menard, Texas. In March of 1758 a large force of Norteños attacked, looted, and burned Mission San Sabá, less than one year after its founding. The mission was never rebuilt. However, the presidio remained occupied for another 14 years until it was abandoned in 1772 by order of the Viceroy of New Spain.

Santa Rosa del Sacrament

Santa Rosa del Sacrament was located at what is now Ciudad Melchor Muzquiz, Coahuila. It was moved north after 1772.

Monclova

Monclova was founded in 1674. The villa or town of Monclova was the capital of Coahuilain in 1780. At that time the presidio was located to the east, near the Rio Grande.



The Presidio de Nuestra Señora de las Caldas de Guajoquilla was established in 1752 on the orders of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo at the site of present-day Jiménez, Chihuahua. In 1789 the Presidio de San Elizario (named after St Elzéar) was moved up the Rio Grande to the hacienda of Tiburcios, the approximate site of the modern town of San Elizario, Texas. The presidio was built to protect the river settlements of Ysleta and Socorro and establish a colony of pacified Apaches. The perimeter enclosure within its thick adobe walls included quarters for four officers, barracks for 43 soldiers, guardhouses, corrals, storerooms, and a chapel. Only the chapel remains standing. (Courtesy of AdeQHA)



The ruins of the Presidio San Luis de las Amarillas (popularly known as San Sabá Presidio), which was established in April 1757 as a support for the Santa Cruz de San Sabá Mission. The presidio and its accompanying mission were the first place that the Spanish in Texas came into conflict with the Comanche Indians and found that Plains Indians, mounted on Spanish horses and armed with French guns, constituted a fighting force superior to that of the Spanish colonials. The presidio became the northernmost post standing against the Comanche. It was not until 1772 that a royal decree officially abandoned the fort on the San Sabá River. The retreat of Spain from San Sabá Presidio back to a line of missions along the Rio Grande (with the exception of San Antonio) signaled the beginning of the end of Spain's attempt to move farther northwest into Texas. (Author)

San Juan Bautista

San Juan Bautista was founded in 1699.

La Bahía del Espiritu Santo

La Bahía del Espiritu Santo was established in 1749 in its current location. The original site was where Fort St Louis stood on Matagorda Bay. It was moved in 1726 to the Guadalupe River and later moved again to the north bank of the San Antonio River at the site of the present town of Goliad, Texas.

Arroyo del Cibolo

Arroyo del Cibolo was founded in 1771 as a detachment site. The presidio was deactivated in 1782 on the orders of Teodoro de Croix.

Tubac

The Spanish army founded the presidio of San Ignacio de Tubac in 1753, at the site of present-day Tubac, Arizona. Its garrison of 50 troops was intended to protect Spanish settlements and missions in the valley of the Santa Cruz



The Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto de la Bahía and its mission were moved to their current location on the San Antonio River in 1747. By 1770, the presidio had been rebuilt in stone and had become the only Spanish fortress for the entire Gulf Coast from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Mississippi River. A civilian settlement, modern-day Goliad, sprang up around the presidio in the late 18th century, and the area was one of the three most important in Spanish Texas. (Author)



The major Spanish fortifications in North America, 1565–1823

River. In 1766, the garrison had 51 officers and men, and a settlement of 40 families had grown up around the post. In 1774, Tubac's commander, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, explored a land route from the Santa Cruz valley to the presidio of San Diego, California.

A reorganization of frontier defenses in 1775 resulted in the transfer of the garrison, enlarged to 56 officers and men, 40 miles (65km) north to a site in present-day downtown Tucson. In 1775 and 1776, de Anza escorted 240 colonists from Horcasitas, in the Mexican state of Sonora, to Monterey, California, and with a small party, blazed a trail to San Francisco Bay, where he selected sites for the mission, presidio, and settlement.

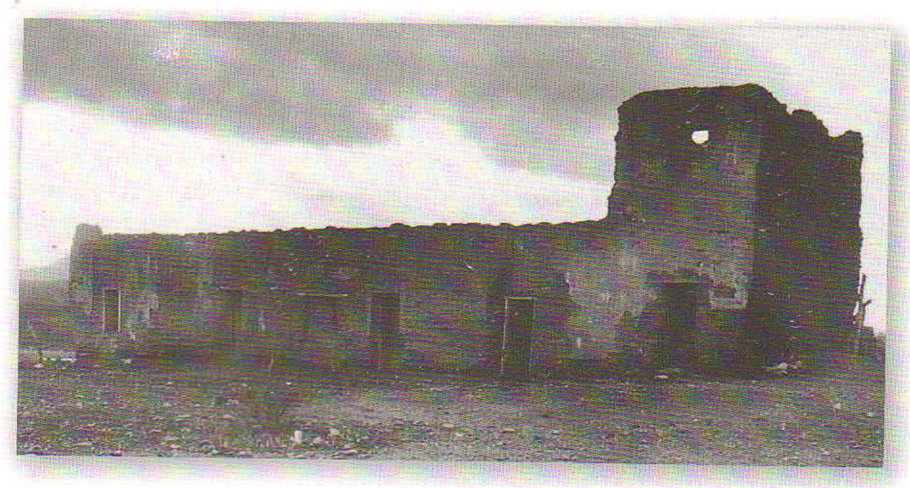
By the early years of the 19th century, Tubac was garrisoned once again, to protect the area from raids by Apache Indians. In 1804, the post had two officers, two sergeants, and 84 men. There were also eight families of Spanish settlers and 20 Indian families living within the presidio's land allotment of 5 square miles (13km^2). The garrison community had 1,000 head of cattle, 5,000 sheep, 600 horses, 200 mules, 15 burros, and 300 goats, and had an annual harvest of 1,000 bushels of wheat and 600 bushels of corn. Following the independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821, the presidio was abandoned and the settlement was in ruins when settlers from the United States reached the Santa Cruz Valley in the late 1840s.

Tucson

The Royal Presidio de San Augustín del Tucson (Arizona) was established in August 1775 and ceased to exist in the fall of 1821 when Mexico achieved political independence from Spain. The garrison and the fortification remained, but the presidio was no longer a royal institution or a unit in a vast colonial empire. Political revolution converted it into a military unit of a passing monarchy, which disappeared in a year to make way for a republic. The process of conversion was orderly at Tucson and other frontier posts because the key events occurred at higher headquarters and overseas.



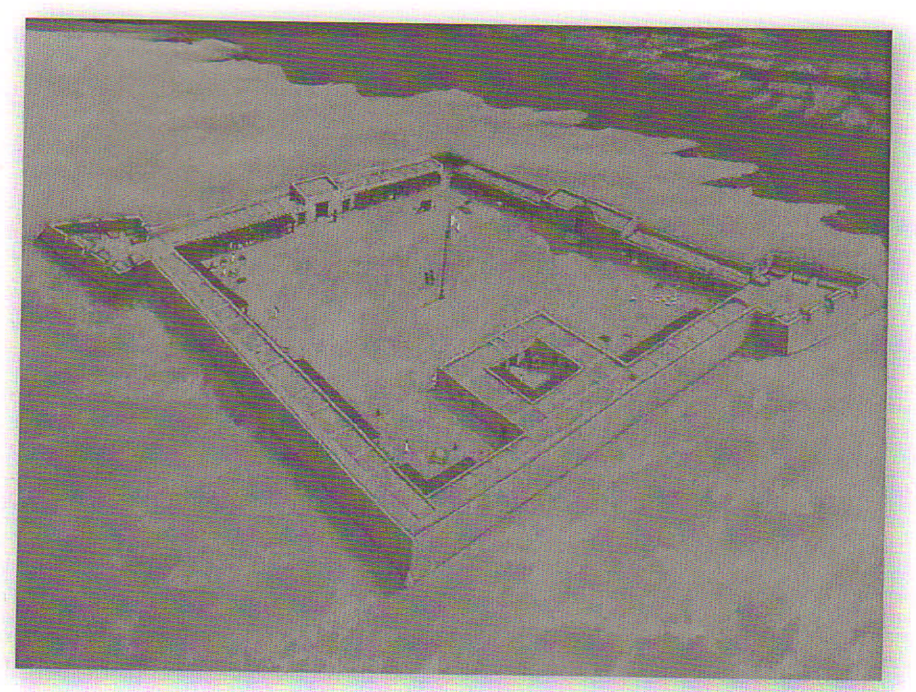
Interior view of Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto de la Bahía's *plaza de armas* or parade ground as seen from one of its bastions. The main entrance and guardrooms are located on the left. In the distance are the officers' quarters and the chapel. (Author)



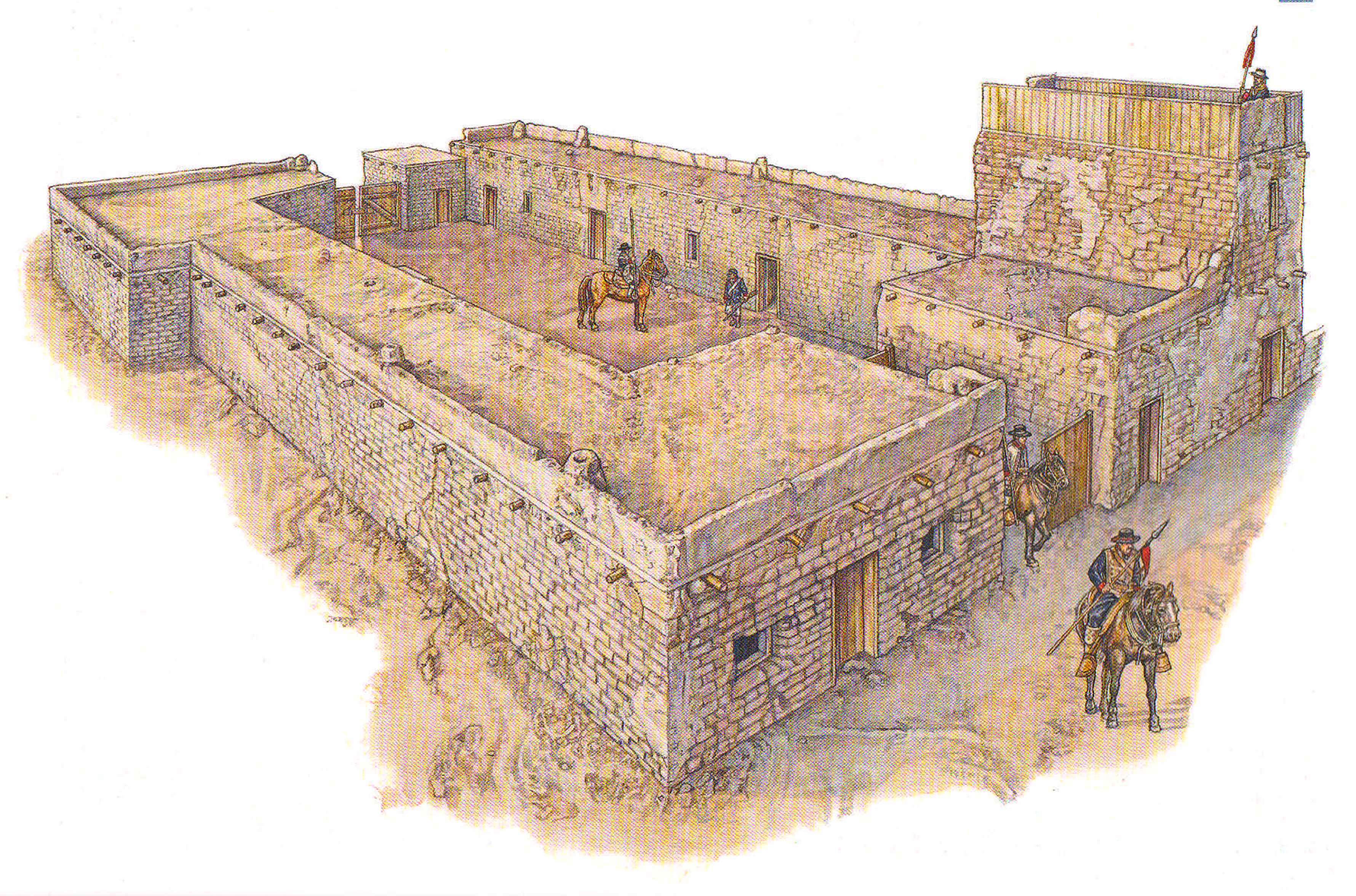
A rare 19th-century photograph showing the remains of the Presidio San Ignacio de Tubac, which was founded in June 1752. Approximately 50 cavalrymen garrisoned this remote military post as a means of preventing Indian rebellions as well as protecting colonists and the mission. Juan Bautista de Anza II, the second commander of the presidio, led two overland expeditions to the Pacific, resulting in the founding of San Francisco, in 1776. Following Anza's return to Tubac, military authorities moved the garrison from Tubac to Tucson in 1776. For a decade, Tubac languished from Apache depredation and was without military protection. The situation finally resulted in the viceroy reactivating the presidio in 1787, this time with Pima Indian troops and Spanish officers. (Courtesy of Tubac Presidio State Historic Park)

San Antonio de Béjar

San Antonio de Béjar Presidio, the center of Spanish defense in western Texas, was founded by Martín de Alarcón on May 5, 1718, on the west side of the San Antonio River, just under 1 mile (1.6km) from the San Antonio de Valero Mission. Alarcón named the presidio San Antonio de Béjar in honor of the Duque de Béjar, the viceroy's brother, who died a hero's death defending Budapest from the Turks in 1686. In 1722 the Marqués de Aguayo relocated the presidio almost directly across the river from the mission. The presidio at that time was housed in one adobe building thatched with grass; the soldiers lived in brush huts. Because of its proximity to the Rio Grande and the better-organized missions in its vicinity, Béjar did not suffer want and distress as did the other presidios. In 1726, when Pedro de Rivera made his report, there were 45 soldiers at San Antonio de Béjar. Nine additional soldiers were on mission guard or escort duty, and four settlers and their families lived near the presidio, as did the families of the soldiers. The total Spanish population was estimated at 200.

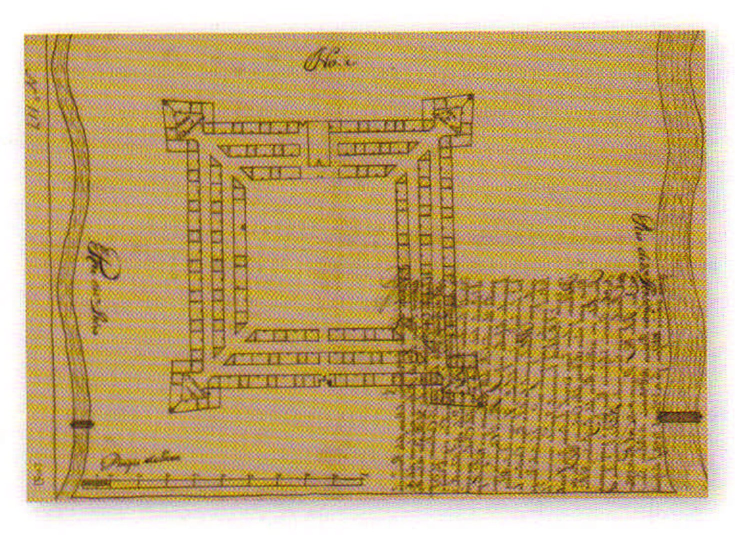


El Presidio Real de San Augustín del Tucson was established in August 1775 by Spanish Army Colonel Hugo Oconór. The soldiers and their families moved north from Tubac sometime during the fall of the following year. The fort was first enclosed with a wooden palisade, and later, after a large Apache assault, by an 8 to 12ft-high (2.5 to 3.6m) adobe wall that measured about 700ft (213m) to a side. (Courtesy of Presidio San Agustín del Tucson and Tucson Origins Park/Photo by the Author)



Presidio de Tubac, 1755 E

Rivera recommended that the complement of the presidio be cut from 54 to 44 and reported that the captain was efficient and the soldiers well disciplined.



A 1722 plan of the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar in the Province of Texas. (Courtesy of Texas State Library and Archives Commission)

Although recommendations were made periodically that permanent fortifications be erected, no wall or stockade was ever built. In May 1763, Luis Antonio Menchaca, who relieved Toribio de Urrutia as commander, reported that the garrison consisted of 22 men, of whom 15 were assigned to mission guard duty, leaving five in addition to the captain and sergeant in the presidio. The presidio was charged with the protection of five missions and a civil settlement and in addition was supposed to furnish escorts for officials and missionaries, take messages from one post to another, and convoy supply trains. Menchaca also reported that, although the soldiers at San Antonio de Béjar were well armed and well disciplined, the number was inadequate for so important an outpost, especially since there was no breastwork for defense and the area was exposed to frequent attacks by Indians.

In 1772 the Marqués de Rubí recommended that San Antonio de Béjar be allowed to remain even though it was out of the semicircular defense line that he advocated. The withdrawal of the presidios of San Sabá, San Agustín de Ahumada, and Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, as recommended by Rubí, left San Antonio de Béjar the northernmost Texas outpost of New Spain. Rubí's recommendation that San Fernando de Béjar, the civil settlement surrounding the presidio, be made the capital of Texas, was also followed. The "Reglamento y instrucción para los presidios," issued in 1772, increased the garrison at San Antonio de Béjar to 80 men, the additional troops to be transferred from Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Los Adaes and San Agustín de Ahumada, and stipulated that 20 of the men were to be detached under a permanent lieutenant on Cibolo Creek to protect the ranches of the settlers and to keep open communications with La Bahía del Espíritu Santo. The regulations further provided that the captain of the presidio would also serve as governor of the province.

In December 1790, Pedro Huizar was commissioned to draw plans for the reconstruction of the presidio and the improvement of its defenses, but the plans were not acted upon. The Second Flying Company of San Carlos de Parras (Alamo de Parras) was sent to reinforce the presidio in 1803. In 1805, Manuel Antonio Cordero, making use of the discretionary powers granted him as governor, began the construction of a stockade along the northern and northeastern limits of the city and planned to build permanent quarters for the

E **PRESIDIO DE TUBAC, 1755**

Spanish colonists started to colonize the area in the 1730s; in 1751 the Pimas, led by Luis of Saric, led an uprising against the Spanish and the settlement at Tubac was destroyed. A year later, the Pimas surrendered and the Presidio San Ignacio de Tubac was established to protect the town and the surrounding area from further rebellion. Tubac became the first European settlement in what today is the state of Arizona. The structure was made entirely of adobe (a natural building material made from sand, clay, and water), with some kind of fibrous or organic material (sticks, straw, dung) shaped into bricks using frames and dried in the sun.

troops, a stockade around the presidio, and a small fort. His plans were not completed, however, for in 1806 the soldiers were stationed on the east side of the river near the Alamo, which had ceased to function as a mission and had become the chief building for the military. Until the end of Spanish and Mexican rule in Texas, the Alamo remained the principal unit of walled defense, while the two plazas, Military Plaza and Plaza de la Constitución, separated by San Fernando Cathedral and the priests' house, served as the center of municipal defense. A lookout fort was located across the river 1 mile (1.6km) from town.

Aside from Indian defense, Béjar Presidio became involved in hostilities during the Mexican and Texan wars of independence. Led by a retired militia officer, Juan Bautista de las Casas, the garrison rebelled against its royalist officers in January 1811. The unit's loyalty to the crown was soon restored, and the garrison was part of the army with which Manuel de Salcedo fought the Gutiérrez–Magee expedition in 1812–13. Ousted for the first time from the city as a result of General Martín Perfecto de Cos's defeat by Texan forces in December 1835, the garrison was briefly reinstated after the fall of the Alamo in March 1836. The presidio formally ceased to exist with the garrison's acknowledgement of Texan independence and surrender on June 4, 1836.

Santa Fe

The presidio of Santa Fe, New Mexico (1610–80, 1692–1846), was originally named La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco. Santa Fe was the capital of the Spanish province of New Mexico beginning in 1610. Since it continues to be the state capital, this makes it the oldest seat of government in the United States. It was abandoned by the Spanish in 1680 and occupied by Pueblo Indians during the Pueblo Revolt, and eventually recaptured by Spain in 1692. The presidio was rebuilt and named Presidio de Exaltación de la Cruz del Nuevo México, also known as El Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y la Exaltación de la Santa Cruz. The Palace of Governors is at the heart of this presidio. Fortified barracks were north of the palace. The *plaza de armas* (parade ground) outside the palace later became part of Fort Marcy.

CALIFORNIA AND THE NORTHWEST

A typical California presidio was located approximately 1 mile (1.6km) from the shoreline – a distance that would put the fort safely out of cannonball range of any hostile foreign warship. Closer to the shore, the line of first

BELOW LEFT
The only existing remnant of the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar, within a stone's throw from the Alamo. In spite of its name, the Spanish Governor's Palace wasn't really a palace, nor was it the governor's residence. The structure served as home and headquarters to the presidio captain, and later, while Texas was still a Spanish colony, as the seat of Texas' government. (Author)

BELOW RIGHT
All that remains of "El Cuartel" in San Antonio. Built in 1810, on January 22, 1811, Captain Juan Bautista de las Casas recruited forces here for the first overthrow of Spanish rule in Texas by arresting the governor and other high officials. On March 2, 1811, Juan Zambrano led a counter-revolutionary force, also recruited here, to overthrow Casas' regime and restore Spanish rule. Early in 1813, the province was invaded by the Republican Army of the North (which favored independence from Spain), only to be reoccupied again that year. Quartel de San Antonio de Bexar was apparently destroyed during the Texas Revolution, as the defenders chose to make their stand at the Alamo. (Author)







Before the Alamo became the symbol of Texan independence it began as a typical fortified mission commonly found in Texas. Originally known as Misión San Antonio de Valero, the mission was later reutilized as a cavalry barracks for the Spanish military in the early 1800s. The soldiers referred to the old mission as the Alamo (the Spanish word for "cottonwood") in honor of their hometown Alamo de Parras, Coahuila. The post's commander established the first recorded hospital in Texas in the long barracks. The Alamo was home to both revolutionaries and royalists during Mexico's ten-year struggle for independence. The military – Spanish, rebel, and then Mexican – continued to occupy the Alamo until the Texas Revolution. Seen here are the foundations of the short barracks with the long barracks and mission in the distance. (Author)

defense would be a cannon emplacement, sheltered behind a dirt, adobe, wooden, or stone embankment. These defenses were grandly called a *castillo* or castle. Little remains today of these batteries, although archaeologists have uncovered remains of the one at San Diego, called Fort Guijarros, and have a good idea of its size and physical appearance, as well as the *castillo* that protected El Real Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey that was armed with 11 cannons. It was built in 1792 on land now belonging to the present Monterey Presidio. The original presidio fell into disrepair as Mexican rule



The Palace of the Governors was erected (1610–12) as the fortress of the presidio of Santa Fe; the Palacio Real is the oldest public building built by European settlers in the continental United States. It served as the residence of the Spanish, Mexican, and American governors of New Mexico until 1907. (Author)



Architecturally, the structure of the Palace of the Governors combined Pueblo Indian and Spanish methods of construction and design, producing a new type of building that was widely used throughout the Southwest. Seen here is the courtyard. (Author)



A plan showing how the Presidio de San Diego appeared in 1820. A park and museum exist on the site where the presidio once stood. The grassy mounds seen today are actually the covered foundations of the fortification and the Padre Cross seen nearby was erected in 1913 by the Order of Panama and is made up of tiles from the presidio ruins. (Courtesy of Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain)

replaced that of Spain in California in 1822. Another *castillo* site existed in San Francisco and was called the Castillo de San Joaquin.

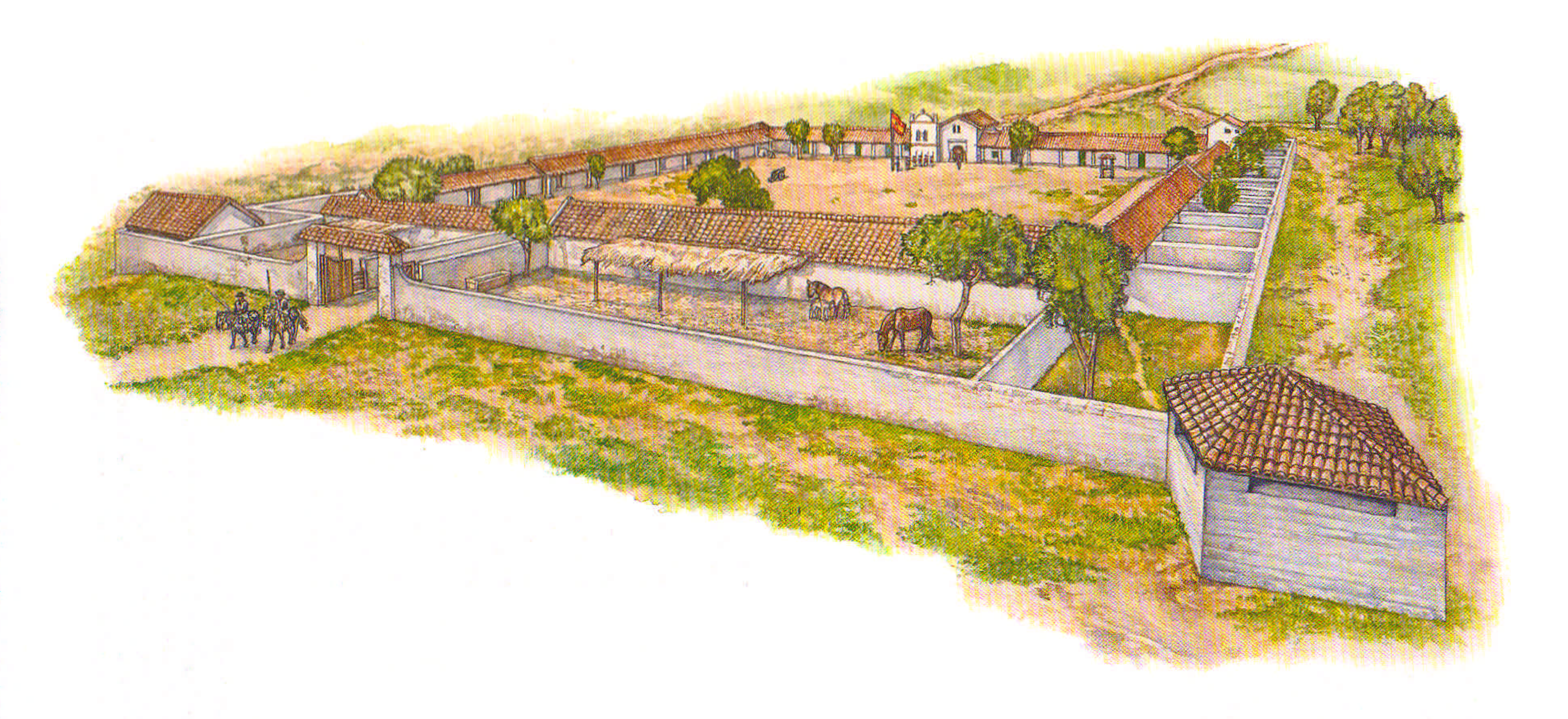
The basic pattern of a presidio in California as well as in the Southwest was a hollow square of high walls with fortified projections, or bastions, on the corners. Inside the walls were barracks and family quarters for the soldiers, an armory, a chapel, the commandant's headquarters (*comandancia*), storerooms, a guardhouse, and possibly a corral. In the center lay the *plaza de armas*. For convenience, the inhabitants of the presidio would welcome having a source of water within the presidio enclosure; certainly in case of attack this would be desirable. A gunpowder magazine would be located somewhere outside the wall at a safe distance in case it should accidentally explode.

Before 1772, presidios along the far northern frontier did not follow any standardized plan, but might lack one or more of the features mentioned previously – having only one bastion, or none at all, or no barracks, for example. However, in 1772 a royal regulation (*reglamento*) attempted to standardize the presidio ground plan along the far northern frontier. Even so, the plan was not always followed in every detail: bastions may be round or may be diamond-

F PRESIDIO SANTA BARBARA, 1785

The Santa Barbara Presidio was both military headquarters and governmental center of the entire region extending from the southern limits of present-day San Luis Obispo County, up to and including the Pueblo of Los Angeles. The whitewashed buildings were constructed of sun-dried adobe bricks laid upon foundations of sandstone boulders. Timbers from Los Padres forest supported roofs of red tile. The buildings of the presidio formed a quadrangle enclosing a central parade ground, the whole surrounded by an outer defense wall with two cannon bastions. The most prominent structure was the chapel.

Presidio Santa Barbara, 1785 **F**



Many of the unfortified missions in California were located between the four presidios (San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego) situated along the Camino Real or Royal Road. Therefore, very few Californian missions had any defensive or military structures. Built in 1791, this original barracks housed four to six Spanish soldiers stationed at the Mission San Juan Capistrano. Similarily, Misión La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima (Purisima Mission) has a restored soldiers' barracks, a corporal's apartment, and a mess hall. (Author)



The Royal Presidio Chapel in Monterey, California, is the only remaining structure from the Spanish Presidio of Monterey. The presidio was founded in 1770 and the chapel was built during the years 1791–95, replacing previous more primitive structures. The present adobe and stone building was designed in Mexico City and constructed using Native American labor, under the direction of master stonemason Manuel Ruiz. (Author)

shaped, a presidio may have a deep dry moat surrounding it or may not, defensive walls may surround one presidio on all four sides, while another might lack a wall on one or more sides. Variations of these defensive styles were seen throughout the Southwest and California; however, in California presidios the general pattern of a hollow square was followed with some kind of corner bastion arrangement and outer defense wall. Presidios built in California that followed this pattern were San Diego (1769), Monterey (1770), San Francisco (1776), and Santa Barbara (1782).

Spain claimed the west coast of North America by virtue of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). Spanish explorations and landings on the west coast of Canada in 1592 and 1774, however, were not consolidated by any settlement.



In 1789, fearful of Russian intentions to move down the coast from Alaska, and concerned by British trading activity that followed Cook's visit in 1778, Spain asserted its sovereignty in the region by establishing a fort at Friendly Cove at the entrance to Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

On April 3, 1790, three ships under the command of Lieutenant Francisco de Eliza y Reventa dropped anchor, and construction work immediately began. Soon, a battery of cannon defended the entrance to the port, and there was a barracks for the soldiers and a villa for the officers. Approximately 80 soldiers wearing yellow-faced blue uniforms of the first company of

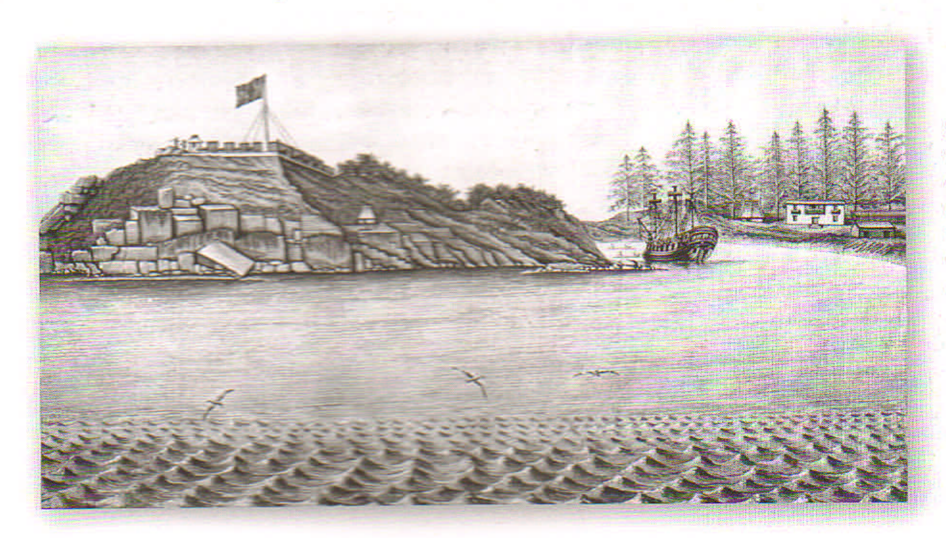
the Voluntarios de Cataluña, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro de Alberni, moved in. These volunteers were Catalan in name only, however; they were in fact a corps of the regular army of New Spain, and most of the men had been recruited in Mexico. Over the years the Spaniards improved the land fortifications and built a floating battery in the port.

The garrison, accustomed to the Mexican climate, suffered greatly from cold and illness, even though it was provided with warm clothing and medication. Several soldiers died, a few deserted, and others were sent to California for treatment. The garrison had between 73 and 76 soldiers in 1791, between 64 and 73 in 1792, and only 59 by 1793. In 1794 the Catalan volunteers in garrison at Nootka were relieved by some 20 soldiers of the Compania fija de San Blas, who mounted the guard until 23 March 1795. On that day, following an official farewell ceremony attended by Lieutenant Thomas Pierce representing England, Nootka Presidio was dismantled. The artillery and the garrison were loaded onto the *Activa*, which sailed southward. Thus ended the reign of Spain on the northwest coast.

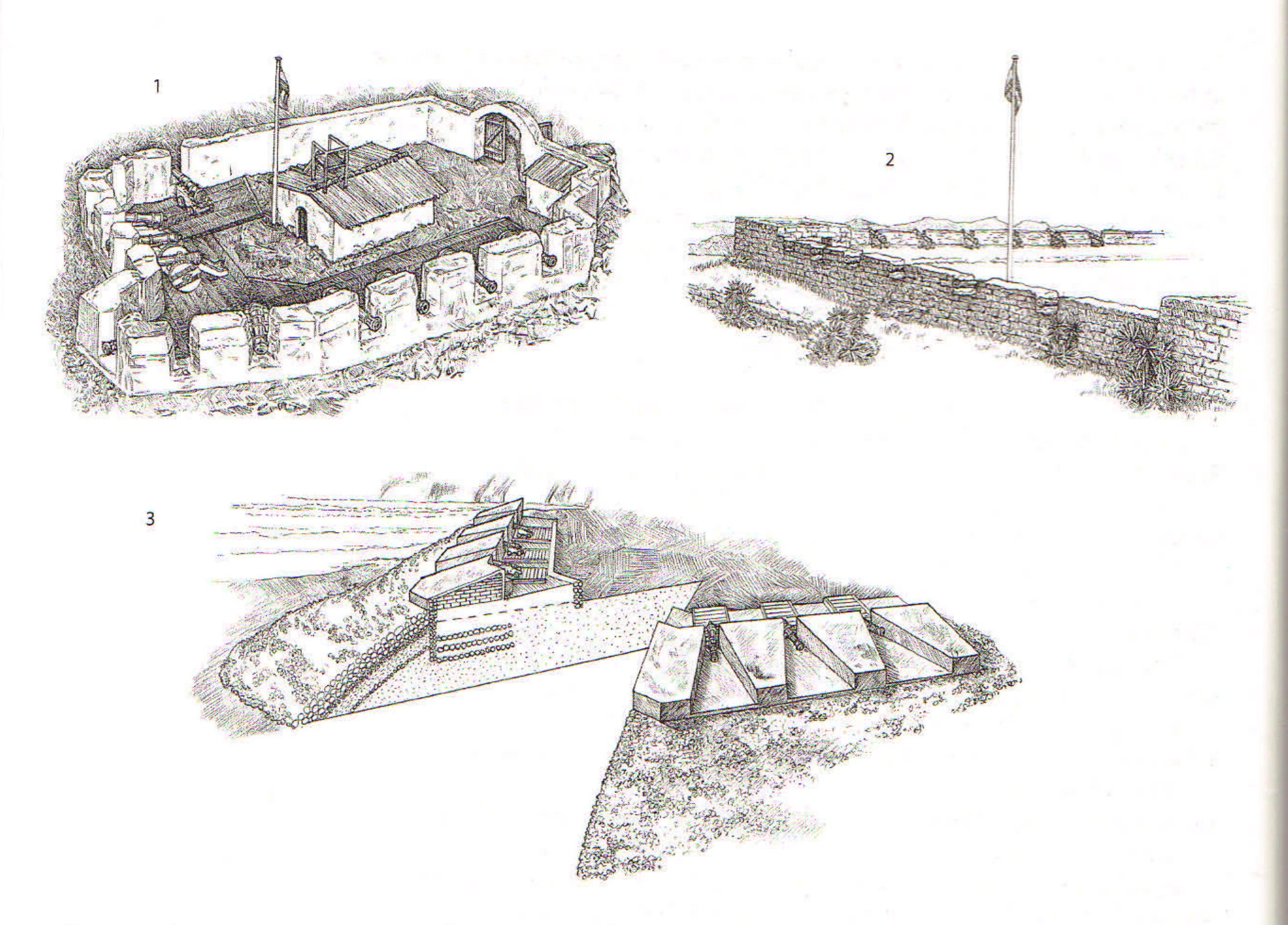
SPANISH COLONIAL FORT SITES TODAY

The greatest number of preserved and restored fortifications and defensive works are found within the state of Florida. In St Augustine the Castillo de San Marcos, the Cubo Line, and Fort Matanzas are administered by the National Park Service while the site of Fort Mose is administered by the state. Near Tallahassee the state maintains the site of Fort San Marco de Apalache and has reconstructed the stockade fortification of Fort San Luis. In Pensacola, a reconstructed section of Fort George and other excavated foundations of Revolutionary War-era fortifications are preserved by the city of Pensacola. Within the Pensacola Naval Air Station the National Park Service maintains Bateria de San Antonio de Barrancas (Fort Barrancas) and a partially reconstructed bastion of Fort San Carlos with its original excavated cannons placed back on period carriages.

Along the Gulf states of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi most of the Spanish sites have disappeared, with a few exceptions. Fort Condé was built during the French occupation of Mobile and later garrisoned by British and Spanish troops. During the bicentennial of the American Revolution, a large section of the masonry fortification was reconstructed and serves as a museum



Spain's furthest reach to the northwest was with the establishment of Fort San Miguel in 1789 at Nootka, in what in now present-day Canada. This watercolor by artist Sigismund Bacstrum is based on a sketch made on February 20, 1793. It shows the presidio at Nootka with the red and yellow Spanish flag flying over the battery at left, and the soldiers' barracks at right. (Parks Canada/Photo by René Chartrand)



Illustrations showing three Spanish coastal fortifications that defended major harbor entrances along the California coast. Illustration 1 shows the Castillo de San Joaquin that defended San Francisco Bay. Illustration 2 depicts "El Castillito" ("Little Fortress") that oversaw the harbor of Monterey. Illustration 3 is a cross section of Fort Guijarros that protected the entrance to the San Diego Bay. Unlike the nearby presidios, which were made of adobe, these fortifications were built of stone in order to withstand the harsh environment associated with the Pacific Ocean. (Illustration by Stephen Walsh)

and welcome center for the city of Mobile. Further down the Interstate 10 corridor is the Old Spanish Fort Museum in Shreveport, Mississippi. The only standing colonial fortification within the New Orleans area is Fort St John. Presidio de Los Adaes is a Louisiana State Park and the fort's foundations are marked by logs. Interpretations of the Spanish presence in the Louisiana Territory can also be found at Arkansas Post National Memorial (Gillet, Arkansas) and the Daniel Boone Home and Boonesfield Village (Defiance, Missouri) where one can view a rare intact Spanish blockhouse.

In the Southwest there are numerous Spanish presidios that can be visited such as the Texan presidios of La Bahía, San Antonio, and San Sabá. The fortified missions are all within driving distance from San Antonio and most are run by the National or Texas State Park Services, with the exception of the Alamo, which is run by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. In downtown Tucson, Arizona, is the reconstructed section of the presidio on the actual site where there are scheduled events that depict life during the 18th century. Approximately 45 minutes away is the site of the Tubac Presidio. Now a state park, there is a museum about the presidio and a few remaining foundations that are preserved in an underground room. Near Tombstone, Arizona, substantial remains of Santa Cruz de Terrenate Presidio National Historic Site can be seen, but be prepared to walk a 3-mile (5km) desert trail. The Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, New Mexico is open to the public as a museum depicting Spanish colonial life in New Mexico.

In California, the Presidio de Santa Barbara was totally reconstructed on the actual site and is combined with existing structures such as the guardroom.

Of the existing structures, the only remaining original structures of California's presidio era still standing are the *comandancia* of the Presidio de San Francisco (now a part of the National Park Service), the Royal Chapel in Monterey, and the soldiers' barracks in Mission San Juan Capistrano. In addition, the Misión La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima (Mission of the Immaculate Conception of Most Holy Mary) contains reconstructed soldiers' quarters and a mess hall. Many of the sites discussed within this work are open to the public and provide an alternative view of history in North America.

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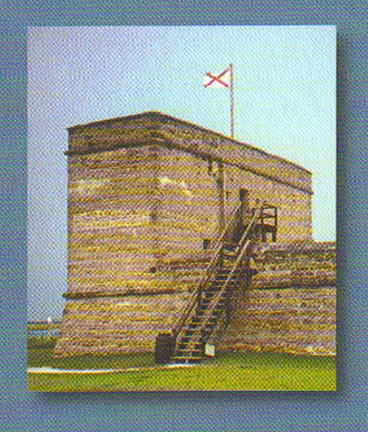
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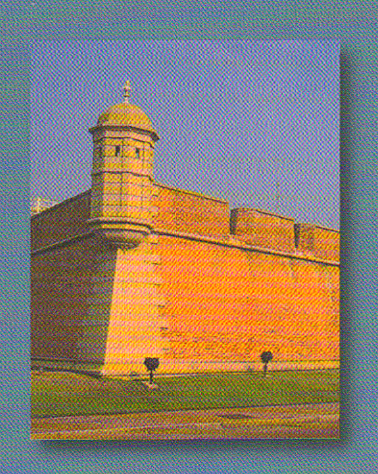
INDEX

References to illustrations are shown in **bold**.

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SPANISH COLONIAL FORTIFICATIONS

in North America 1565–1822

At its height, Spanish colonial dominance in the Western hemisphere stretched from the Pacific Northwest to Cape Horn. To defend this vast territory, Spain constructed a series of fortifications right across the North American continent, linking settlements in Florida with the Presidios of California and the Pacific Coast. Designed to defend against both competing colonial powers and the natives, their construction varied between different landscapes and populations. This is a comprehensive study of these forts, supported by detailed illustrations and contemporary plans. Many of the sites can still be visited today, and form the basis for some of North America's most vibrant cities.

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